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India as Described in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana

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PREFACE.

In this volume is placed before the reader, the third and the last instalment of my views on the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, as contemplated in the preface to my first book "The Mahabharata: a criticism." I have called this book by the name of Epic India as it attempts to describe the social, political, intellectual and religious condition of the country during the epic period, from such information as is available to us in these two epics. I have also laid under contribution for corroborative evidence, the Upanishads on the one hand, composed as they were about the beginning of that period and Manusmriti and the writings of Megasthenes and other Greek authors which belong to its end. The epic period, according to my view, extends roughly speaking, from 3000 to 300 B. C. as the Mahabharata war was in my opinion fought in 3101 B C. the original Bharata being composed not very long after that event; and the Mahabharata was last recast about 250 B. C. at least unquestionably after Megasthenes and before Ashoka. If we take the latest dates assigned to these events viz., the Mahabharata war and the last recasting of the Mahabharata the epic period still extends over about a thousand years from 1200 to 200 B. C.

In arriving at my views about the condition of India in this period, I have tried as far as possible to avoid two tendencies, the tendency on the one hand so natural to many native scholars, to look upon the least deviation from accepted ideas as monstrous, and the tendency on the other hand so unaccountably observable among many European scholars to look upon every thing written by the Brahmins as suspicious and even untrue. How far I have succeeded in steering clear of these Scylla and Charybdis of Indian antiquarians, it is for the reader to judge.

In this book I have thrown all the Sanskrit quotations into foot-notes and given their translation where necessary in the body of the book. Names again have always been given in English characters; but they have also been shown in Devanagari characters in brackets where necessary to ensure proper pronunciation. The appending of a map and an Index may lastly be noticed and will be found useful.

Now that the task which I had laid before myself is over, I can not conclude without expressing my deep sense of gratitude to His Highness the Maharajah Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda, but for whose encouragement and princely support I could not have placed before the public, the results (of such value as they may possess) of my study of the two venerable epics of India.

Bombay, December 1907. C. V. VAIDYA.

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APPENDIX.

Pages of this volume are in continuation to the previous volume.

CHAPTER XIII.

Geographical Knowledge.

Although it is difficult to surmise what amount of geographical knowledge the Aryans possessed at the beginning of the epic period there cannot be any doubt that they had a very accurate knowledge not only of the whole of India but also of the countries adjoining it at the end of that period. Their notions of the geography of the world were however crude and they supplied the defects of their knowledge by their imagination. We shall begin this geographical section by giving their idea of the world as it is somewhat vaguely attempted to be given in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, an idea which probably prevailed when these epic poems were last recast.

The world according to the Mahabharata consists of several Dvipas or islands so to speak surrounded by oceans. The earth or the portion we inhabit is called Jambudvipa or the island of the Jambul-tree. It is divided into several Varshas or zones which as shown in the appended map may be said to correspond with certain real added to certain imaginary countries. The earth is bound on the south by the salt ocean and on the north by the milky one. On the east and the west there are other oceans the names of which are not given in the Mahabharata In the centre of the earth stands the

lofty mountain of gold called Meru. On the south side of this Meru there are three ranges of mountains running east and west which are real and which were probably known to the Aryans *viz.*, the Himalayas, the Karakoram or Kailas range and the Altai range called the Nishada range in the Mahabharata. To the south of the Himalayas is the BharataVarsha or India and countries about the same latitude and to the north of them is the Haimavata Varsha which may be said to comprise Tibet and China. Beyond the Kailas and on this side of the Altai range or Nishadha mountains is the Harivarsha which may comprise Japan, Manchuria, Mongolia, Northern Turkastan, Germany and England as is maintained by many. To the north of the Altai range we have the Ilavritta Varsha divided into four countries by Meru and the two minor ranges .Gandhamadana and Malyavan. It is here that we have the four blessed regions, the Jumbudvipa properly so called with the Jumbu river issuing from a Jumbu tree of vast dimensions and running into the Uttarakurus. On the west we have the two blessed countries Bhadrashva and Ketumala. Now taking Meru at the north pole we may take it that the Ilavritta Varsha covers Russia, Norway and Sweden on this side of it and North American countries near the pole on the other. The ground here is said to be golden and it is actually found to be so in some parts of North Canada, but one may believe that this is merely an accident. Russia including Siberia though not at present a happy country may have been in remote ages more habitable than now and the original home of the Aryans and as such a blessed region. The three mountain ranges which

are described as running east and west beyond Meru are all imaginary and are perhape put in, in correspondence to the ranges which lie to the south of it and of which the Aryans may be believed to have had some fair knowledge; for they describe a vast sandy desert and a great lake in the zone north of the Kailasa range which may be identified with the Gobi desert and the sea of Aral. In the Mahaprasthanika Parva also the Pandavas in their progress towards heaven in the north are said to have crossed a great sandy desert.

The Ramayana seems to have improved upon this partly real and partly imaginary description of the world; but as may be expected it has simply made a jumble of the whole thing by giving a free scope to the imagination. We have already stated that the last editor of the Ramayana had very imperfect knowledge even of the geography of India, with the exception perhaps of northern India, and yet attempted to give a description of the whole world in those interpolated chapters in which Sugriva is giving directions to the search parties which are sent east and west, south and north to discover Sita. We would not have troubled the reader with a map of the world as sketched out by Sugriva had it not been interesting for some details which are not to be found in the Mahabharatta. The Meru mountain has in this sketch been removed from the north and placed at the western end of the world, perhaps bscause the last editor of the Ramayana in his ignorance of astronomy was unable to explain otherwise how the sun makes a circuit about it.

The rising and setting of the sun are supposed

to take place on the East and West hills which are at the limit of the world and beyond which nobody can go. The sun at setting gets first behind the Meru and then from the West hill goes towards the North and comes to the East hill in the morning. How the sun rises again in the same direction was an enigma to almost all the ancients who believed the earth to be flat.

If the Aryans had vague ideas about the world they had probably very good information about the lands which surrounded their country. We have already adverted to their knowledge of the three parallel ranges of mountains the Himalaya, the Kailas and the Altai mountains, of the Gobi and other deserts and the many lakes that are to be found in Tibet, Turkestan and Siberia. They also knew the Greeks, the Persians, the Turks or rather the Scythians or Shakas, the Huns, the Chinese and other northern barbarians. It is sometimes said that the Aryans came to know of these people after the conquests of Alexander. The northern Mlenchhas noted in the shloka of the Mahabharata quoted below,* Bhishmaparva chapter 9, comprise almost all those people who lived to the north of India and who were undoubtedly known at the end of the epic period after the conquests of Alexander. But we cannot but believe that many of these people must have been known to the Aryans several centuries before. Darius conquered and

* यवनाश्चीनकाम्बोजा दारुणा म्लेच्छजातयः ।
सकृद्ग्रहाः कुलत्थाश्च हूणाः पारसिकैः सह ।
तथैव रमणाश्चीनाः तथैव दशमालिकाः ॥

added to his dominions as a satrapy the part of ancient India which lies to the west of the Indus. The Persians and the people who formed parts of their empire must consequenly have been brought together in the capital of the Persians and also in their armies. It is therefore natural to expect that the Aryans knew the Greeks and the Shakas or Scythians long before Alexander came to India. Herodotus has given a description of India, the twentieth and last satrapy of Darius, which states that it is the most populous country in the world and that it is bounded towards the east by a desert. Herodotus wrote his history in 450 B. C. and it is not strange that the Indians also knew the Greeks at that time. They must have known them even before owing to their trade relations with the Assyrians and the Chaldœans. It is in our opinion therefore likely that they knew the Ionians or Yavanas by hearsay before 450 B. C. Their personal acquaintance we may date from the conquests of Darius, while their still more intimate acquaintance, as disclosed in the line from the Mahabharata Karnaparva quoted below* must have been subsequent to the conquests of Alexandar the Great. What has been said above of the Yavanas applies equally or more forcibly to the other nations of the north such as the Persians, or the Scythians.

Coming lastly to India itself the country in which the Aryans lived, it may be stated that they knew the whole of India with greater or less dimness throughout the whole of the epic period. The Vedas speak

* सर्वज्ञा यवना राजन् शूराश्चैव विशेषतः ।

of the sea of which the Aryans could only have got an idea by sailing down the Indus. The Vedas also speak of the rivers of the Punjab and the Jumna and the Ganges (probably known near their sources). In Rama's time they knew well the eastern sea and the Godavari and dimly Ceylon itself. At the time of the Pandavas and Shrikrishna the whole of northern India with a portion of the Deccan was well-known. Long before the last recasting of the Mahabharata and before the conquest of Alexander the Aryans knew the whole of India completely.

Erroneous opinions have been entertained on this subject by the generality of European scholars and it is usually believed that southern India was not known at all in the days of Buddha while the colonization of Ceylon is believed to have taken place about the time of Chandragupta. The Ceylon chronicles which place the first colony in the island in the very year of Buddha's death must be in error, says Prof. Rhys Davids, "for it cannot have taken place before the period in which the Nikayas were written." The argument which is usually advanced to establish this belief is that the list of the 16 kingdoms mentioned in the works composed about the time of Buddha makes no mention of any country to the south of the Vindhya range, except one solitary kingdom on the bank of the Godavari. "Not only is the whole of the south India and Ceylon ignored in it but there is also no mention of Orissa or Bengal east of the Ganges, or even of the Deccan." "The extention into Deccan took place in the days of the Nikayas. The Vinaya has a probable reference to Bharukaccha

and the Udana one to Supparaka." "But it is suggestive to notice that the advance is so limited and that there is still no reference either to south India or to Ceylon which play so great a part in the story of the Ramayana." (Buddhist India by Rhys Davids).

Now we have more than once pointed out that this kind of negative evidence is absolutly valueless and has often mislead scholars into drawing false conclusions. Because one country is not mentioned in the list of the 16 kingdoms mentioned in the days of Buddha, to argue that that kingdom did not exist or was not known in his days, would be as illogical as to hold that a king who is not mentioned in the list of the 16 famous ancient kings of India, twice given in the Mahabharata, never flourished in ancient India. The lists given in ancient books of religion were not meant to be exhaustive nor were these books regular treatises on geography or history. Inspite of its evident fallacy this kind of wrong inference has always been catching and it is curious to mark how many scholars have made use of this kind of argument though perhaps on a careful consideration they would be inclined to admit that because a fact or a name is not mentioned in an ancient religious book, it is no argument to hold that that fact or that name did not then exist.*

* Sindhu, Sauvira and Saurashtra are not in the list of the 16 kingdoms of Buddhistic writings and yet there is not the least doubt that these kingdoms existed even then and prior, Sauvira being admitted usually to be the Ophir of Solomon of about 1000 B. C. Probably the list gives those countries only where Buddha or his disciples went for preaching the law and does not mention other outlying kingdoms.

We have however positive proof to show that south India and Ceylon were accurately known in the days of Alexander *i. e.*, before the time of Chandragupta and therefore of the Nikayas and the Vinaya. For we have the evidence of foreign writers like Eratosthenes and others who accompanied Alexander to show that the Indians in the northwest of India had accurate knowledge of the form and even the extent of this country as a whole. It is recorded that Alexander had India described to him in detail by men acquainted with the country and the distances and measurements given to him as recorded by Eratosthenes so closely correspond with the lengths as measured in these days that General Cunningham admitted with surprise that accurate in formation was possessed even at that early date by the Indians about the form and size of their country.* As we have elsewhere said the two Tirthayatras or pilgrimages described to Yudhishthira in Vana Parva show how the geographical knowledge of the country advanced during the epic period and we believe India was completely well known in the days of Buddha. We shall try in this chapter to give the geography of India as it was known at the end of the epic period, noticing incidentally how geographical knowledge must have advanced during that period.

Ancient India included, it must be remembered, Afganistan and Kashmir and some of the most orthodox Aryan communities were located beyond the Indus. With this remark we may proceed to identify the rivers, the mountains, the places

* See footnote pp. 26-27.

and the peoples mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. It is doubtless a most difficult, an almost impossible task. The Mahabharata especially contains geographical references in so many places that to collect them together and to make out of them a consistent geography of India is apparently unfeasible. We therefore claim the indulgence of the reader if there are any mistakes in this work of identification.

The Mahabharata Bhishmaparva chapter 9 gives the following principal mountains in India besides the Himalaya range which bounds it on the north,. *viz.*, 1 Mahendra, 2 Malaya, 3 Sahya, 4 Shuktiman, 5 Rikshavan, 6 Vindhya and 7 Pariyatra.* The Mahendra range is the range in Orissa. Malaya is the range which joins the eastern with the western Ghauts which are called the Sahya range; Shuktiman is we believe, the Kathiawar range including mount Girnar while Rikshavan is the Aravali range or Arbuda, as it is called, extending into Rajputana. Vindhya requires no identification but the last range Pariyatra is the most difficult to locate. It is we believe the Suleman range which lies beyond the Indus, inasmuch as it is said to be on that side of the river in the Ramayana. It is sometimes identified with the western portion of the Vindhya range but this deprives it of the right to be ranked as a separate Kulaparvata. To these chief ranges or Kulaparvatas are joined minor ranges and offshoots which as stated in the Mahabharata it would

* महेंद्रो मलयः सह्यः शुक्तिमान् ऋक्षवानपि ।
विंध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः ॥

be tedious to mention in detail. The above accurately represent the leading mountain ranges of the continent of India.

We now pass on to the rivers of India. There are mentioned about two hundred rivers in chap. 10 of the Bhishmaparva which it would be impossible to mention here much less to identify. We shall therefore mention the chief rivers given in the geographical chapters of the Kishkindhakanda of the Ramayana which takes for its starting point the Kurukshetra or some place not very far to the south of it. In the east we have the Bhagirathi or Ganges, the Sharayu, the Kaushiki (or Gandaki) the Kalindi or Yamuna, the Sarasvati, the Sindhu which must be the smaller Sindha river which falls into the Jumna somewhere near Kalpi, the Shona which falls into the Ganges near Patna and lastly the Mahi or Kalamahi. Then in the south are mentioned the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and further on the Kaveri. In the west the Indus alone is mentioned and beyond that the Pariyatra mountain while in the north naturally enough no rivers are mentioned. The five rivers of the Punjab are given in the Mahabharata Karnaparva chapter 44 as the Shatadru, the Vipasha, the Airavati, the Chandrabhaga, and the Vitasta besides the Sindhu outside the mountains.* The Shatadru is the Sutlaj of modern India and the Hesidrus of the Greeks. The Vipasha is the modern Bias and the Greek Hyphasis. The Airavati is the modern Ravi and the Greek

* शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ।
चंद्रभागा वितस्ता च सिंधुःषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः ॥

Hydraotes. The Chandrabhaga is the Vedic Asikni, Greek Akesines and modern Chinab, while Vitasta is the Hydaspes of the Greeks and the Behat or Jhelum of modern times. There is another small river mentioned in the Punjab which is called the Apaga and which is given by Cunningham between the Ravi and the Chinab.

Other principal rivers of Northern India mentioned in the Mahabharata besides these are the Gomati, the Charmanvati (Chambal), and the Vetravati (Betva). In Southern India we have the Nerbudda, the Krishnaveni (as it is called), the Bhima, the Vena and the Tunga Vena. Many other minor rivers are also mentioned which cannot all be identified at this date.

The river Sarasvati deserves to be specially noted at length. There is a long Sarasvati Akhyana in the Shalyaparva wherein the whole course of the river is described minutely with the several Tirthas on its banks. Now this river is, it is usually believed, an imaginary one and can not now be indentified with any river in India. It seems however clear from the course described in this legend that the Sarasvati was once an actual river which rising in the Himalayas ran through the sandy desert of Rajputana and the Runn of Kutch into the Arabian sea near Dwaraka. It is from Dwaraka that Balarama started on his pilgrimage along the banks of the Sarasvati against the stream.* He first came to the Prabhasa Tirtha which is near Dwaraka on the sea coast indenting inside. From thence he went to Chamasodbheda (चमसोद्भेद) and from thence

* सरस्वतीं प्रतिस्रोतःसमंतादभिजग्मिवान् ।

to Udapanakupa (उदपानकूप) "where people know from the luxuriant vegetation and wetness of the ground the course of the Sarasvati, though she has disappeared." From thence he went to Vinashana Tirtha "where the Sarasvati disappeared underground from fear of Shudra Abhiras" and hence the Tirtha was called Vinashana. He proceeded thenece along a living stream and went to the Garga Tirtha where Garga obtained his astronomical knowledge on the banks of the Sarasvati. Crossing to the southern bank he went to the Nagatirtha; thence he went eastwards, it appears, when the river turned towards the west in the Naimisharanya, where he visited various Tirthas and hearing of Shalya's death went into Kurukshetra through Symanta Panchaka. He then saw the rise of the river in the Him alayas, from whence he went to the Jumna. The Sarasvati rose it is stated in the hill called प्रस्रवण on the west side of the Jumna. The fight between Duryodhana and Bhima took place on the southern bank of the Sarasvati in Kurukshetra to which the combatants went by the advice of Balarama as it was a sacred ground where death was meritorious. It thus clearly appears that the Sarasvati rising from a hill on this side of the Himalayas to the west of the Jumna pursued a westernly course through Kurukshetra only turning to the east at one point and then went southward and disappeared in the sands of Rajastan but its further course was inferrable down to the sea as far as Dwaraka. At present a stream is shown on the maps as Sarasvati which turning to the left joins the Sutlaj.

The river Sarasvati is one of the most sacred rivers of the Aryans the name having been brought into India by them from beyond the Indus. There is a Harahvaiti among the rivers and blessed regions of the Vendidad. That name the Aryans gave to the river in India along the banks of which the Vedas were arranged. Modern Indians believe that the Sarasvati runs between the Ganges and the Jumna in an invisible stream and joins them at Prayaga. No countenance is derived from the above Sarasvati Akhyana for such a supposition.

Sharayu is another name which the Aryans brought from beyond the Indus, Harayu being also the name of another river in the blessed regions mentioned in the Vendidad and this name the Aryans in India gave to the river which runs by Ayodhya. This strongly supports the theory which we have advocated *viz.*, that Ayodhya or Koshala was an ancient kingdom founded by the Aryans about the close of the Vedic period.

From rivers we will now proceed to the enumeration and identification of the peoples or countries of India. We may begin by stating that the Mahabharata Bhishma Parva chapter IX mentions 157 peoples in Hindustan properly so called, 50 peoples in the south *i.e.*, to the south of the Nerbudda and about 14 Mlenchha peoples beyond India in which term we include as stated before Afganistan and Kashmir. We give these names in the appendix as it is impossible to identify many of them in consequence of the fact that the enumeration does not probably proceed on any geographical basis. These peoples no doubt extend over the whole of India and belong to the

time when the epic period came to its close *i.e.*, the time of Alexander's conquest. The list does not contain the name of Nepal which is however found in the Mahabharata in another place. It seems therefore probable that the list is not an exhaustive one. We shall however try to locate some of the most important tribes from information available in other parts of the Mahabharata, notably in the several Digvijayas mentioned therein.

Taking the Kurukshetra or the land of the Kurus as the centre we find in the east Digvijaya first the Panchalas. They were divided into two tribes the northern and the southern Panchalas. The former were above the Ganges. The latter between the Ganges and the Jumna. It is stated in the Mahabharata Adiparva that the former portion was conquered by Drona from Drupada and annexed to the Kaurava kingdom.* The capital of the former was Ahicchatra and that of the latter Kampilya and its territory extended to even the Chambal. The next kingdom was that of the Kosalas towards the east. They also were divided like the Panchalas into the Uttara or Northern and the Dakshina or Southern

* राजासि दक्षिणे तीरे भागीरथ्याहमुत्तरे ।
माकंदीमथ गंगायास्तीरे जनपदायुताम् ।
सोऽध्यावसद्दीनमनाः काम्पिल्यं च पुरोत्तमम् ॥
दक्षिणांश्चापि पाञ्चालान् यावच्चर्मण्वती नदी ।
एवं राजन्नहिच्छत्रा पुरी जनपदायुता ।
युधिनिर्जित्य पार्थेन द्रोणाय प्रतिपादिता ॥ ७७ ॥ आदि० ११८

It is significant that in the division of the Panchala kingdom the southern portion was given to Drupada, a fact which strengthens our position that the mixed Aryans were at first shoved to the south of the Ganges.

Kosalas. In the Ramayana Uttarakanda where the sons of Rama have different kingdoms and capitals assigned to them, Lava takes Shravasti with the Uttara Koshalas and Kusha takes Kushavati with the Dakshina Koshalas which must be supposed to have extended up to the Vindhya range on the south for Kushavati is said to be on the slopes of the Vindhya-range.*

From thence we go in the east to the Mithila country the western boundary of which was the Sadanira. The Mithila country did not extend southwards upto the Ganges. Along the banks of the Ganges were the two kingdoms of Kashi and Vishalâ or Vaishâli in the east. Vishvamitra in the Bala-kanda is said to have taken Rama from Ayodhya to Mithila by this way. Starting from Ayodhya they first crossed the Sharayu which is said to take its rise from the Manasa lake. They then went south-east and crossed the Ganges below where the Sharayu joins it. They entered the country of the Maladas and Karushas which had beenlaid waste by Tataka whom Rama killed. They then reached Siddhashrama, Vishvamitra's hermitage, where he performed his sacrifice. From thence they started for Mithila. First they crossed the Shona. Then they passed by the five hills of Rajagriha in Magadha. Having re-crossed the Ganges they came to the Kaushiki river on the banks of which Vishalâ was situate. Having crossed the Kaushiki they after a time entered into the Mithila country. Thus we see that on the southern

* कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विन्ध्यपर्वतरोधसि ।

bank of the Ganges were the countries called Maladas and Karushas and beyond the Shona the well-known Magadhas. Pataliputra had not yet been founded; the capital of the country was still Rajagriha or Girivraja with its famous five hills which are even now known to be identifiable by their old fortifications. The kingdom of the Magadhas was founded by Vasu according to the Ramayana (Balakanda 31) but the Mahabharata states that it was founded by Brihadashva a son of Vasu (who had founded Kaushambi in the Chedi kingdom). At the time of the Mahabharata war Jarasandha was its king and the route which Krishna, Arjuna and Bhima took from Indraprastha or Dehli to Rajagriha is minutely described in the Mahabharata. They first went eastward, it is stated, crossing the several rivers near their first coming into the plains of India, such as the Ganges, the Gandaki, the Mahashona, the Sadanira and the Sarayu and through the eastern Koshalas went southwards through Mithila and crossed the Maha Charmanvati (river not identifiable), the Ganges and the Shona and then eastward went to Rajagriha. In the Sabha Parva the great prosperity of the Magadha country is attributed to its never failing rainfall.*

Here we come to the borders of the Aryan or the mixed Aryan world. The countries and peoples to the east were originally looked upon as Mlenchhas† They were, going down from the north, the Angas,

* अपरिहार्यश्च मेघानां मागधा मनुना कृताः ।
हृष्टपुष्टजनोपेतं चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाकुलम् ॥

† In Adiparva chapter 105 it is stated that Dirghatamas procreated on the wives of Bali, evidently an aboriginal king, five

the Vangas and the Kalingas. Other names mentioned and familier to our ears are the Pulindas, the Manimans, the Poundras, the Sumhas and the Mlenchhas near the sea coast. These may be located nearly in the same place as their modern representatives. Sharmakas and Varmakas are also mentioned in the east but are not recognisable, but Oudra is modern Orissa. The town of Tamralipti is mentioned as situate in the east, and was known to the Greeks as Tamluk. It is not contended that all these towns and peoples existed in the days of the Pandavas but they undoubtedly existed about 300 B. C. when the Mahabharata was last recast.

We now turn to the south. Proceeding from Kurukshetra, we have the Shurasenas about Mathura and the Matsyas to their west, the Kuntibhojas along the Charmanvati or Chambal, Avanti, Bhojakata ruled over by Bhishmaka, then the forest tribes, Mahishavati which is said to be full of bad women and which can not be well identified the Kosalas and Prak Kosalas. Turning towards the west the Saurashtras or Kathiawar, Bhojakata again which probably lay in Gujarat, Shurparaka or Sopara, the northern Konkan and Talakata or Talikota. Above the Ghauts were the Dandakas which were now probably confined to the western part of the Deccan, the Mlenchhas near the sea, Purushadas or remnants of cannibals and the fabulous Karnapravaranas or people who covered themselves with their ears; these

sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Poundra and Sumha from whom five peoples of these names took their origin.

अंगो वंगः कलिंगश्च पुंड्रः सुह्मश्च ते सुताः ।
तेषां देशाः समाख्याताः स्वनामकथिता भुवि ॥३२॥ १०४। आदि०

are given in the Ramayana in the east. The Keralas are hereafter mentioned with Ekapadas or men with one foot only. The well known Pandya, Dravida, Chola, Andhra, Oudra and Kalinga were also conquered along the eastern coast. There was also a town of the Yavanas on the sea-coast. In all this long list of peoples conquered in the south the Marathas and the Gujaratis are not mentioned nor are they mentioned in the list of the peoples of India given in the Bhishmaparva chapter IX. The Konkanas and the Malavas are however mentioned in this chapter and in these names we recognise the Konkanese and the Mavalas above the Ghauts of modern times. The word Malava appears to denote the part of the level country or plateau which one reaches after ascending a high mountain range. Hence the same name is applied to the Ghatamatha country in the Deccan and its people, to the country above the Vindhyas in Central India and to that part of the Punjab to which one rises after ascending the hills which bound the deserts of Bahavalpur. Here we have the third Malava country and people *viz.,* the Malava Shudrakas of the Mahabharata or the Malloi Oxidraü of the Greeks. All the three Malavas were very warlike and at the same time docile peoples.

Although as above remarked the Marathas are not mentioned in the Mahabharata, we have evidence of the fact that the Deccanese were even then recognised as a formidable people. The Vidarbha country is properly identified with the Berars. The king of the Vidarbhas was Rukmi whose daughter is said to have been Rukmini Krishna's wife. Karna is

said to have fought with this Rukmi in his conquest of the four quarters.*

There are some other names of importance which require to be specially noticed and identified before we go on to the west. The Parantas and Aparantas two names found in the Bhishma Parva list of peoples are usually identified with northern and southern Konkan and thus seem to be included in that name. How then are these separately mentioned besides the Konkanas and how are they mentioned among the people of northern India? Perhaps the explanation seems to be that Paranta and Aparanta were names given to what are Broach and Surat districts now and to the country covered now by the Thana collectorate. These parts were usually included among northern countries. The name Aparanta appears in the Mahabharata in two other places. In the Dronaparva we find the line "born in Aparanta and taught by the breakers of elephants." This shows that Aparanta was a country well known for its elephants. They are found in Karwar and Mysore even in these days in the forests that clothe the Sahyadri range and it is not at all strange that there were

* रुक्मिणं दाक्षिणात्येषु योधयामास सूतजः

Rukmi is mentioned in another place as the king of the Deccanes,

आकृतीनामधिपतिर्भोजस्यातियशस्विनः ।
दक्षिणात्यपतेःपुत्रो दिक्षु रुक्मीति विश्रुतः ॥

Then again the Vidarbhas were probably of the Bhoja race as appears from the following

यत्रैव कृष्णेन रणे निर्जितः परवीरहा ।
तत्र भोजकटं नाम कृतं नगरमुत्तमम् ॥

forests in those days which extended as far north as Surat and elephants were found even in what is now the Thana District. The same conclusion is strengthened by the other reference to Aparanta in the Mahabharata which is still more explicit. In Shantiparva chapter 49 we are told that Parashurama having given away the earth to Kashyapa was asked by him to retire from it. The Ocean thereon created for him, it is stated, the Shurparaka country extending over Aparanta. This clearly identifies Aparanta with the modern Thana district.*

The next people and country of whom there is some doubt are the Anartas. They are usually placed and we think rightly in Kathiawar and were allied to the Yadavas of Krishna. Anupa is probably the island of Kaccha itself though Kacchakas are separately mentioned in the Bhishma parva list of peoples. The Abhiras are people of the aboriginal race, perhaps the modern Bhils, who inhabited the western and southern portions of Rajputana and have already been noticed as the people through whose fear the sacred river Sarasvati disappeared in the sands of their country.

Proceeding now to the west of Kurukshetra we have first the Rohitaka hill inhabited by the warlike Matta Mayuras, the Maru or desert of Marwar and then Dasharna, Shibi, Trigartas, Ambashthas, Malavas (already noticed of the Punjab), Sindha, Panchanadas or Punjab, Haras, Huras, Hunas, Shakala the capital of the Madras and also Dwaravati

* ततःशूर्पारकं देशं सागरस्तस्य निर्ममे ।
सहसा जामदग्न्यस्य सोऽपरान्तमहीतलम् ॥ १० ॥

of Vasudeva and then the Mlenchhas of the sea coast such as the Pallavas, the Barbaras, the Yavanas, the Shakas and the Kiratas.

We have already spoken about the Yavanas, but Barbara is a strange name which frequently occurs among the Mlenchhas of the west. It is remarkable that in the whole of the ancient history of India we have no mention of any people of that name living in or coming to the west of India. The Berbers are a well known people in the north of Africa. It is therefore a riddle how the Aryans in India came to speak of the Berbers who are never known to have come to Asia in ancient or modern times.

Sindhu, Sauvira, Gandhara and Kashmira are names well known and are easily identifiable. Gandhara is the country about Peshawar, while Sauvira must be the part of modern Sind near the seacoast called Patalene in Alexander's time. Sauvira is believed to have been the Ophir mentioned in the history of Solomon, as a famous centre of trade about a thousand years before Christ.

The country of the Punjab contains so many names in the Mahabharata and Ramayana and the history of Alexander's conquests in India that we ought to have more identifications here than in the rest of the country. But the places and even the countries and peoples mentioned are generally identifiable with difficulty. It is necessary to begin with the Vedic verse इमं मे गंगे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या given in the tenth Mandala supposed to consist of the latest hymns of the Rigveda. Undoubtedly it belongs to the time when the Aryans

had already advanced beyond the Ganges and occupied Rohilkhand and Oudh. In this verse we find as it were a list of the rivers that an Aryan who was on the eastern bank of the Ganges would successively meet in his progress through the Bharata land which then would cover the country between Kabul in the west and Rohilkhand in the east along the foot of the Himalayas. He would first cross the Ganges, then the Jumna, then the Sarasvati, then the Shutudri or Sutlaj, then the Parushni, then the Asikni, then the Marudvridha and then the Vitasta. Then would come the Indus, the Kubha or Kabul river and lastly the Gomati. That was the mother land at the end of the Vedic period. At the beginning of the epic period we find two more rivers named after trans-Punjab rivers viz., the Sharayu or the *Zend* Harayu and the Gomati. We find the Aryans still united with their brethren of the west. Kekaya is the Persian sounding name of the country from whence came Kaikeyi and where Bharata went twice. The description of the country and the places traversed by the messengers who went to call Bharata from his uncle's capital after Dasharatha's death and the route traversed by Bharata himself in his hasty march to Ayodhya is so minutely given in the Ramayana that we think it necessary to give it here in detail although we cannot identify most of the places that are mentioned therein.

"The messengers well equipped for a long and hasty march went along the course of the Malini river to the north of Pralamba (a town or a mountain) and the west of Paratala (ditto), crossed the Ganges at Hastinapura and entered the Panchala countriy

and the Kurukshetra. They then crossed the Sharadanda river. Having bowed to the sacred tree on its banks they entered Kalinga town. Reaching अभिकल a town and leaving behind तेजोभिभवन also a town, they crossed the Ikshumati which was the ancestral river of the Ikshvakus. Marking Brahmins learned in the Vedas drink water with the palms of their hands they went through the Balhikas and the mountain range of Sudama on which was Vishnu's foot to which they bowed and crossing the Vipasa, the Shalmali and other rivers and traversing forests full of tigers and other wild animals they at last reached Girivraja, Kekaya's capital, at night."

Bharata on his return journey was accompanied by a small force and took naturally a more accessible road. "He started east, saw Sudama and the river of the same name and also the wide-banked Lhadini flowing west and crossed the Shatadru at Ailadhana. Reaching अपरपर्वत and crossing the शीला and अकुर्वती rivers he went south-east to शल्यकर्षण and आग्नेय (two towns) and crossing high hills came into the चैत्ररथ forest. Reaching the Sarasvati and the Ganges in twain he entered the भारुंड forest to the north of the Viramatsyas or the brave Matsya people. He then came to the Kalinga town surrounded by hills. He then crossed the Jumna and gave rest to his army. He next crossed the Bhagirathi at अंशुधाम and thence came to the well known town of प्राग्वट on the same river. From thence crossing the कुटिकोष्ठका river he came to धर्मवर्धन. Coming to तोरण he turned southward and reached जम्बूप्रस्थ and from thence went to वरूथ. From thence he went

eastward to the garden of उज्जिहान a town." Here being in his own territory he left his army behind. "Taking with him swift conveyance and horses and crossing the north going river he came to हस्तिपृष्ठ and crossed the Kapivati at Lohitya, the Sthanumati at Ekasala and the Gomati at Vinata and the Sal-forest at Kalinganagar and reached Ayodhya after seven days and nights."

The two descriptions given above are so detailed and bristle with so many names of rivers and towns which seem to mock us by their unidentifiable character that we seem to think that the poet has strangely enough got here into a mood of detailed description which unfortunately did not recur to him when he described the march of Rama to Lanka. It appears however that these are not imaginary descriptions at all. Probably from Ayodhya to Kekaya was a country which was well populated and often traversed while Rama's march to Lanka lay in an unknown and forest-covered country. Moreover we find certain land marks which make the former routes tolerably identifiable. We cross the Ganges, the Sarasvati, the Shatadru and the Vipasa all well-known rivers from the time of the Vedas up to this day. Girivraja was amongst hills and in this hilly land on the borders of Kashmir we may well expect the country of Kekaya the master of good horses and the father of the fair Kaikeyi. In the Uttarakanda again we have some more interesting information on the same point. Yuyudhana uncle of Bharata advised Rama to conquer the country on both sides of the Indus which was in the possession of the Gandharvas (an aboriginal tribe) and

Bharata accordingly set out from Ayodhya with a large army accompanied by his two sons. He reached the Kekaya country in one month and a half which shows that taking the average march of an army to be 14 miles a day that country was 630 miles from Ayodhya, not an unreliable figure. Bharata and Yuyudhana combined conquered the country about the Indus and Bharata's sons तक्ष and पुष्कल founded the two towns Takshashila (तक्षशिला) and Pushkalavati (पुष्कलावती) in the two regions on either side of the Indus. Bharata established his sons in those kingdoms and returned to Ayodhya. These two towns are well-known in Greek history as Taxila and Peukhlaoti which Alexander visited and the former of which tendered its submissiou to him while he took the latter by force.

We may try to locate if possible Kekaya where ruled the Ashvapati the grandfather of Bharata. Some Orientalists (including Lassen) identify the kingdom of Sophaetes mentioned in the histories of Alexander's conquest with that of the Ashvapati. It lay between the Ravi and the Bias and a small town named Rajagiri now existing there is identified with Rajagriha the capital of the Ashvapati (Mac Crindle's Invasion of Ancient India by Alxander page 349). From the detailed description above recorded of the route taken by the messengers to Bharata it appears that this identification is tolerably correct as the messengers are said to have crossed the Vipasha and then reached Girivraja. In our book entitled the "Riddle of the Ramayana" we made a surmise that the kingdom of the Ashvapati was in Afganistan. The name Kekaya

has unquestionably an Iranian sound and the custom of marriage prevailing there was also Asura as we have shown. The Ashvapati moreover had a fine breed of horses while Sophaetes is not represented to have had any horses to show to Alexander nor is the country assigned to Sophaetes noted for its fine breed of horses while Afganistan and Persia are well known as well for their horses as for fine asses and shawls and carpets and kambals all which are said to have been presented to Bharata. No doubt the Ashvapati gave him a present of some powerful dogs also which could fight with lions. A number of similar dogs were presented to Alexander by Sophaetes and this inclines the balance in favour of the identification of the kingdom of Sophaetes with that of the Ashvapati. We may explain both these facts by holding that the Kekaya kingdom lay beyond the Beas or Vipasa and was a colony from another kingdom of the same name in Afganistan or Persia, and while some of the facts related to the beginning of the epic period when Kekaya was a country beyond the Indus, others notably the mention of the dogs belong to the end of that period. In the description above quoted of the route of Bharata the Balhika kingdom is also mentioned as having been crossed. It is a name which is also borrowed from beyond the Indus where were the original Balhikas *i. e.*, people of Balkh or Bactrians as they were called by the Greeks. These people were not as orthodox as the Aryans of the Gangetic valley; the fact of their Brahmins drinking water with the palms of their hands has not only been mentioned here in the Ramayana but also in the Maha-

bharata Karnaparva where Karna upbraids Shalya for the degraded customs of his country. Now this Shalya was the king of the Madras and also of the Balhikas an allied people. We have already shown that Madri's marriage was accompanied by large presents given by Bhishma to her father as bride's price. The custom was allied to the Asura custom observed at the time of Kaikeyi's marriage. Both these tribes appear to have thus retained their trans-frontier customs in their new lands in the beginning of the epic period though in the days of Alexander they do not seem to have retained them all but seem to have fallen in line with the general Aryan form of marriage. Geographically the Balhika, the Madra* and the Gandhara country was the Punjab proper along the slopes of the Himalayas between the Kabul river and the Sutlaj with the important towns of Shakala (Sagala of Alenxander) said in the Mahabharatha to be the capital of the Madras, Takshashila and Pusklavati. These were the principal tribes of the Punjab though there were many other less important tribes besides such as the Malloi and the Oxidrae (Malava Shudrakas) already mentioned.

We shall now proceed to see what people and places are mentioned to the north of Kurukshetra in the Digvijaya of Arjuna. We have first the Kulindas and Anartas, then Kalakuta a name of frequent occurrance as the name of a mountain, the people of Shakala Dvipa, Pragjyotisha whose king

* Madra was a son of Shibi and so was Kekaya; these gave two names to two different peoples.

Bhagadatta fought subsequently on the side of Duryodhana, certain classes of hillmen such as Daradas and Kambojas within and beyond the mountains, Uluka and the free peoples and Trigartas, Darvas, Kokanadas and Balhikas proper. Some names as we have already seen recur and this indicates perhaps that the people of that name migrated southwards and eastwards and founded other kingdoms of the same name. We have thus Anarta and Trigarta mentioned in the south also. What Pragjyotisha is it is difficult to say but it seems that the Daradas, the Kambojas and the Kiratas (mentioned in other places also) were turbulent tribes to the north of Kashmir. We have further on the mention of the Uttara Harivarsha which may be identified with Tibet. That country was not open to outsiders, even then. Stalwart and strong men turned Arjuna back from their door stating that men could go that far only and that they in honour of his great name made their formal submission and gave him rich presents. Such is one of the most interesting passages about the Uttara Harivarsha which was then as until quite recently, a sealed city and a sealed country, and which consequently raised it to the rank of a mysteriously blessed region. In fact heaven or Svarga was sought to be identified with the regions to the north of the Himalayas where were Kailasa, Meru and Gandhamadana mountains and blessed habitants like those of Kubera, Shiva and Vishnu.

The reader can now see that the Aryans well knew their own country at least and the people who inhabited it very accurately. Megasthenes appears to have made a list of the peoples and tribes who

inhabited India and mentioned 118 tribes in it.* It is a pity that the work of Megasthenes is lost. Even as it is the 9th chapter in the Bhishmaparva makes a similar attempt at enumerating the several tribes within and outside India. The list has not been made as scientifically and geographically as one would have wished; names frequently recur and many names are brought together simply on account of their resemblance in sound; we have tried to locate as many of them as possible in the map appended hereto and the complete list is given in the appendix where such names as have been identifed are marked by an asterisk.

The various Tirthas visited by the Pandavas afford very interesting materials for geographical study. The story of their pilgrimage is prefaced by two descriptions of Tirthayatra or list of holy places, one given by Narada and the other by Dhaumya, in Vanaparva onward from chapter 80. The whole Tirthayatra subparva thus contains a thrice repeated reference to the several holy places in India. We are tempted to give the list of Dhaumya in extenso as it is a short one and divides the places into the eastern, southern, western and northern. We are thus enabled to locate them at least with tolerable accuracy. We shall supplement the list by such other information as may be gathered from the Tirtha list of Narada and from the account of the Tirthas actually said to have been visited by the Pandavas.

* We find this statement in Ancient India by MacCrindle. It seems Strabo has given this list of Megasthenes and that it is available. But we have unfortunately not succeeded in finding it out from the reference given by MacCrindle.

The holy places in the east, going from Kamyakavana where the Pandavas were when the list was recited by Dhaumya were the following. It must be remembered at the outset that ancient India was full of forests which were mostly separately named and were the resort of Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The Buddhistic writings are full of the mention of such forests or gardens with distinctive names. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana also contain references to many forests in a similar manner. The above named Kamyaka forest probably lay to the east of Hastinapura beyond the Ganges, Taking this as the starting point Dhaumya mentions the Gomati as the first holy river in the east, the river, on the western confines of the kingdom of Ayodhya. Then by a sudden jump Dhaumya takes us to Gaya with its sacred hill in its vicinity, the Brahmasarah or lake and a Mahanadi called Falgu. The head of Gaya (गयशिर) and the famous Akshayyavata tree where lakhs and lakhs of Hindus from ancient times to this day have been offering balls of rice to the manes are also mentioned. From Gaya Dhaumya takes us to the Kaushiki river to the north of the Ganges where Vishvamitra obtained his elevation to the caste of Brahmins. Then we come to the Ganges itself where Bhagiratha sacrificed. From here Dhaumya takes us back to Utpalavana in the Panchala country near Kanyakubja where Vishvamitra sacrified and Indra in person drank Soma with him. From thence we come to Prayaga at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna where Brahma himself is said to have performed a sacrifice. Thence we come

to Hiranyabindu on the Kalanjara hill where the Ashrama of Agastya was situate. Then we go to Mahendra mountain where was the Ashrama of Bhargava, thence to the Manikarnika pond in Benares where Bhagirathi was caught in a small pool, thence to the sacred Brahmashala and Kedara Ashrama of Matanga. These last mentioned places are not clearly identifiable as also others which follow *viz.*, Kundoda hill, Devavana and the Bahuda river.

All these places are mentioned in the Narada Tirthayatra and many more. But as Narada does not give the direction of these places from Kamyaka forest it is difficult to say where some of those mentioned were. It is however sufficient to notice that Narada does not take us beyond a solitary place in the east of Bengal. He mentions the Champakaranya or Champaka garden near Champa the capital of the Anga country mentioned in Buddhistic ancient writings (see Buddhist India by Rhys Davids page 35). It also mentions the mouths of the Ganges which are said to be five hundred in number. From this place the pilgrims used to go to the Vaitarni river in Kalinga near which was the mountain Mahendra the favourite resort of Jamadagnya or Parasharama. Chitrakuta and Shringaverpura are also mentioned as places of pilgrimage.

The holy places in the south as enumerated by Dhaumya were the Godavari, the Vena, the Bhimaratha, and the Payoshni on the banks of which Nriga performed hundreds of sacrifices; which this river is it is difficult to surmise, but it was in Gujarat as we shall see further on. We have next the mention of the Shurparaka Vedi belonging to Jamadagnya, the

Agastya-tirtha and the Varuna-tirtha among the Pandyas which is pre-eminently the country of the Dravidas, the Tamraparni and the Gokarna Tirtha. In Saurashtra or Kathiawar, Prabhasa on the sea coast and the Chamasodbheda Tirtha, the sacred Dwarka and the Ujjayanta mountain are mentioned. To these may be added from the Tirthayatra of Narada the Kaveri, from thence the Kanya Tirtha on the sea coast presumably at the Kanya Kumari cape, the Krishna Vena and Dandakaranya. The Sapta Godavaris i.e., the seven mouths of that river are also mentioned. We have also the mention of Mahakala, Koti Tirtha and Bhadravata of Ujjain (49, 50 of 81 Vanaparva).

Now in the west we have curiously enough the Nerbudda in the Anarta country which seems here to extend as far as Broach from the confines of Kathiawar, the Vaiduryashekhara mountain and other mountains and lakes and rivers therein; by these we are presumably to understand the Abu and other hills. Lastly is mentioned the far famed Pushkara. The Abu mountain is expressly named as the Arbuda mountain in the Tirthayatra of Narada.

In the north we have the Plakshavatarana Tirtha on the Jumna on whose banks Bharata performed many sacrifices, the Sarasvati, the Drishadvati, the NaraNarayana Ashrama, Gangadvara, the Kanakhala Tirtha and the Badarikashrama. All these are mentioned in the Narada Tirthayatra also and many others especially in Kurukshetra.

It is a strange coincidence that while most of these Tirthas are well known in modern days and are the usual places of pilgrimage, one great Tirtha of

modern times is conspicuous by the absence of its mention viz., the Rameshvara Tirtha on the southern coast. We have already commented on the fact that it is not mentioned in the Ramayana also, in our second book 'The Riddle of the Ramayana,' and we are compelled to state that the Mahabharata, even as it is, supports the same theory. It appears probable that Rameshvara as a Tirtha came into existence subsequent to the latest recasting of the great epics of India and may therefore be said to belong to a period posterior to the beginning of the Christian era.

We can not pass on without giving the itinery of the Pandavas as they actually went and visited the several Tirthas and we have marked that route on the appended map of India. They came first to the Naimisha forest on the banks of the Gomati. Then they bathed in the Bahuda river and proceeded to Prayaga; thence they went to the Vedi of Prajapati and the holy mountain near Gaya with its Brahma Saras and Akshayyavata. They stayed at Gaya for four months (chapter 95) and starting thence they went to the Dvijayâ river with the Ashrama of Agastya where Lomasha related to them the story of Agastya's killing the two Rakshasas Ilvala and Vatapi. Thence they went to the Nanda and Apara-Nanda rivers and thence to the Kaushiki with the Ashrama of Vishvamitra on its banks and that of Kashyapa the father of Rishyashringa. Here the well-known story of Rishyashringa and Shanta and Lomapada king of the Angas is related by Lomasha to Yudhishthira (chapter 110 & 111).

From there they went to the place where the

Ganges falls into the sea. There they bathed in the midst of 500 rivers and thence went to the Vaitarna river in the Kalingas along the sea coast. There apparently the sea was shallow and hence the place is called the Vedi of the earth, as it is just submerged in the ocean. There they saw Parsharama Jamadagnya who lived on the Mahendra mountain and who visited the sea coast on the Chaturdashi and Ashtami days of every month. Here the story of Parasharama's killing his mother at the command of his father and his fight with Kartavirya is related. Hereafter the Pandavas went to various Tirthas along the sea-coast and reached the Pandya or Dravida country. From thence they came to Shurparaka which is a very long distance indeed from the Pandya country on the south-east coast. Shurparaka is identified with modern Sopara. Here leaving the coast and going into the country they paid a visit to the Vedi of Jamadagnya who strangely enough has a place on a mountain assigned to him on either sea-coast.* From Shurparaka along the sea coast the Pandavas went to Prabhasa in Kathiawar where they were visited by Krishna from Dwarka (chap. 118).

From here the Pandavas are said to have gone to the Payoshni in the Vidharbha country. The river thus appears to be a north Gujarat river. From there they went to the Nerbudda and the

* It seems probable that the eastern coast in Kalinga was first colonised by the Aryans and then the western coast. The similarity of the situation of both suggested the same names and places and hence we find here not only a place for Parasharama but also another Vaitarni river.

Vaidurya Parvata on or near its bank. From there they went to the Saindhavarnya and the Pushkara lake and the Richika mountain; thence they proceeded to the Jumna and the famous Tirthas on its bank viz., Yugandhara, Achyutasthala and Bhutalavya which was said to be the door to Kuru Kshetra; the Plakshavatarana Tirtha on the banks of the Jumna was also visited. From thence they went to the Sarasvati and the Kurukshetra (chap. 129.)

From here their journey is noticed in a rapid survey. The Chamasodbheda Tirtha is mentioned here again and Sindhutirtha and Prabhasa (probably a repetition.) There is noticed Vishnupada (noticed in the march of the messengers from Ayodhya who went to call Bharata from Kekaya) the Vipasa river, Kashmir, the gate to the Manasa lake, the Vitasta and the Jala and Upajala rivers on whose banks Shibi son of Ushinara performed sacrifices and gave Indra his own flesh to redeem a Kapota, and the hermitage of Shvetaketu son of Uddalaka on the bank of the Samanga (chapter 134) the Kanakhala mountain (and not stream) and the Ganges. From here they were taken by Lomasha to Mainâka and Shveta mountains, the sevenfold Ganges, the Kalashaila mountain and the Mandara where Kubera lives. There they treaded on ground not accessible to man, and visited the Gandamadana and Kailasa mountains connected with the Himalayas where lived the Kirata and Tangana tribes and the Badari tree at the Nara-Narayan Ashrama. Here they saw Arjuna returned from heaven and we may say that the pilgrimage of the Pandavas ended

here. The places mentioned in this itinery are all well-known in these days and the stories which Lomasha related in praise of particular spots are also very interesting and ancient. This short summary throws a deal of geographical light on the condition of the country if not at the beginning of of the epic period at least at its end.

Before concluding this chapter we must notice some interesting topics of controversy in connection with the subject of this chapter. We shall first notice some of the unidentified towns whose names frequently occur in the epics. We have first Hastinapura and Ayodhya the chief towns in both. Their position is not much disputed though has not yet been accurately fixed Indraprastha again founded by the Pandavas is believed to be situated near modern Dehli. The towns mentioned in the famous line* containing the lowest demand of the Pandavas quoted below are unidentifiable except Indrapratha. So is Upaplavya the place where the army of the Pandavas and the Viratas collected. From this place Krishna went to Hastinapura on his mission of peace and the way by which he went is graphically described in the Mahabharata. He halted at Vrikasthala on the way it being one day's journey from Upaplavya. We can tolerably ascertain the whereabouts of the Matsya or Viratanagar where the Pandavas resided incognito and which is sometimes identified with Jeypur. The Pandavas first went, it is related in the Mahabharata, towards the Jumna ; probably

* इंद्रप्रस्थं वृकप्रस्थं माकंदीं वारणावतम् ।
देहि मे चतुरो ग्रामान् ग्राममेकं च पंचकम् ॥

they were then between the Ganges and the Jumna; then "crossed the river and went along the southern bank north of Dasharna and south of Panchala between the Yakritlomanas (यकृल्लोमानः) and Shurasenas and representing that they were hunters, entered the kingdom of Matsya." This shows that the Matsya kingdom was to the west of the Jumna and is well placed a little to the north of Jeypur. From thence towards Kurukshetra Upaplavya was half way to Kurukshetra towards the north. And Vrikasthala must have been on the banks of the Jumna like Indraprastha but the exact position of the town it is impossible to determine.

It is curious to note that the army of the contending parties in the Mahabharata was encamped over an expanse of territory which is described as "covering the Panchanada, the whole of the Kuru level country, the forest of the Rohitakas, the desert of Maru, Ahicchatra, Kalakuta, Gangakula, Varana, Vatadhana and the Yamuna range of hills."* This is undoubtedly a very vast expanse of territory and could not have been required, vast though the army was, but the places mentioned are of interest. Panchanada appears to be a particular place rather than the whole of the Punjab while Kalakuta appears to be a mountain to the north of Hastinapura as we have already stated. Varana is Varnavati and Vatadhana has also been mentioned beforehand as being on the Ganges though not located.

* ततः पांचनदश्चैव कृत्स्नं च कुरुजांगलम् ।
तथा रोहितकारण्यं मरुभूमिश्च केवला ॥
अहिच्छत्रं कालकूटं गंगाकूलं च भारत ।
वारणं वाटधानं च यामुनश्चैवपर्वतः ॥ उद्योग । १९

The unidentifiable places in the Ramayana are first Shringaverapura which was somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, and where Rama halted on the first night of his exile from Ayodhya, Madhura and Vaidisha two capitals assigned to Subahu and Shatrughati the sons of Shatrughna, and Angadiya (अंगदीय) and Chandrakanta (चन्द्रकांत) founded by Angada and Chandrakanta sons of Lakshmana. Kishkindha, Pampa and Panchavati are also almost unidentifiable as will appear from the following. We have already adverted to the unidentifiable nature of most of the places, towns and villages mentioned in the journey of the messengers of Ayodhya to Kaikeya or the march of Bharata from there to Ayodhya. We shall here discuss the route taken by Rama to Lanka. Setting out from Ayodhya, he came to the Ganges at Shringaverapura and there crossed it. He then went a little eastward to Prayaga to visit the sage Bharadvaja. By his advice he went along the Jumna somewhat west and crossed the river on a float of rafters tied together with creepers. He took his abode on the Chitrakuta hill which adjoins a station of the same name on the Jhansi-Manikpur Railway line. We may accept the modern Chitrakuta as the place where Rama first lived in the Dandakaranya. Being disturbed here by visits from Ayodhya, he resolved to go still further south. After having visited during about eleven years the several Brahmin settlements with their presiding Rishis who had founded Ashramas in the country, he fixed his abode at Panchavati on the banks of the Godavari, the utmost limit of Aryan settlements in his days, by the advice of Agastya who had his

own Ashrama somewhere to the north of the river. Now there is a dispute as to whether this Panchavati where Rama took up his abode, was at Nasik or at Bhadrachalam in the Madras Presidency, both being on the banks of the Godavari, the former near the western Ghauts and the latter near the eastern, the former almost near the source of the river, the latter near its mouth. The question is one of great interest not only from a religious but also from an antiquarian point of view. The way from Chitrakuta to Nasik would naturally be along the present Great Indian Peninsula Railway line and would be equally easy with the way from Chitrakuta due southwards and would not be barred by more hills and mountains. The question was controverted with great erudition and acumen between Vaman Daji Oka and Shrimant Bapusahib chief of Junior Kurundwad both men of great learning and research who are now dead and we can do no better than summarise the arguments adduced on both sides. The first thing that must be said is that in the vicinity of Panchavati there were hills covered over with trees.* This description applies to both the places. Secondly the country of the Rakshasas was quite near, perhaps on the other side of the Godavari a fact which also might apply to both places equally. Janasthana in our opinion was the country of the Rakshasas. The word Jana is an abbreviated form of Punyajana a name given to the Rakshasas. It is therefore probable that the modern Deccan

* नातिदूरे न चासन्ने मृगयूथनिपीडिताः ।
दृश्यन्ते गिरयः सौम्याः फुल्लैस्तरुभिरावृताः ॥ रामा० अरण्य०

was preeminently the country of the Rakshasas in those days and must have then touched the Godavari at both the disputed places. The people in the east are at present Telangas who speak a Dravidian language and may be looked upon as the descendants of the Rakshasas. The people in the west thought they speak Marathi are in the lower strata allied to the people in Telangana. Their taking up an Aryan language may induce one to believe that the first Aryan settlement was in the vicinity of Nasik.

But the following considerations would incline us to believe that Panchavati was near the eastern Ghauts and not near the western. From Chitrakuta Rama appears to have gone due south and not south-west on his way to Panchavati. For from Sutikshna's place the hermitage of Agastya's brother was to the south and Agastya's own Ashrama was to the south of that of his brother (Sarga 11 Aranya-kanda). We have no mention in the Ramayana as to where the first Ashrama *viz.*, of Sutikshna was; nor where the Ashramas of Sharbhanga and Atri were. But it is probable that all these were to the south of Chitrakuta as those of Agastya and his brother were to the south of Sutikshna's and hence it is probable that Panchavati was due south of Chitra kuta. Again, setting out of Panchavati in search of Sita the two brothers first went west and thence south and then again south and lastly towards the east about 6 miles (See Sarga 66 Aranyakanda) and came to a mountain with a deep defile. There they killed the Rakshasa Kabandha and went west-ward by his direction crossing the hill

after another.* They came to Pampa lake on one bank of which was the Rishyamuka mountain where lived Sugriva with his four friends.† Where this Pampa lake and Rishyamuka mountain are to be placed it is impossible to decide but the direction from Panchavati is indicated clearly in the above. From thence Rama went to Kishkindha which is suppossed to represent the north part of Mysore or to lie between Mysore and Hyderabad. The whereabouts of Kishkindha are not disputed by any one nor is the position of Chitrakuta. Of the two routes which join the two one western and the other eastern, we are inclined from the direction above indicated to accept the latter as the one which was really taken by Rama in his progress towards Lanka.‡

* चक्रमन्तौ वरान् शैलान् शैलाच्छैलं वनाद्वनम् ।
ततः पुष्करिणीं वीर पंपां नाम गमिष्यथ ॥

† ऋष्यमूके गिरिवरे पम्पापर्यंतशोभिते ।
निवसत्यात्मवान् वीरश्चतुर्भिः सह वानरैः ॥

‡ Both these routes are shown in the appended map of India.

CHAPTER XIV.

ASTRONOMICAL KNOWLEDGE.

We shall in this chapter try to discover what astronomical knowledge was possessed by the ancient Indo-Aryans during the epic period, from such information as is available in the epics. It may be premised that at the end of the Vedic period the Aryans in India had a tolerably definite knowledge of the 27 constellations and the course of the moon among them. The constellations were originally 27 and corresponded to the successive halts, so to say, of the moon on each succeeding day. The lunar month consisted of a little more than 28 days and the figure 27 was also not very convenient for calculations. A 28th constellation was accordingly conceived and was assigned a fictitious position. There is a remarkably interesting legend in the Mahabharata about this fictitious Nakshatra the basis of which may or may not be found in the Brahmanas. The meaning of the shlokas quoted below* is not quite clear; but roughly taken, the story is that Abhijit the youngest sister envied Rohini for her

* अभिजित्स्पर्धमाना तु रोहिण्या कन्यसी स्वसा ।
इच्छन्ती ज्येष्ठतां देवी तपस्तप्तुं वनं गता ॥ ८ ॥
तत्र मूढोऽस्मि भद्रं ते नक्षत्रं गगनाच्च्युतम् ।
कालं त्विमं परं स्कन्द ब्रह्मणा सह चिन्तय ॥ ९ ॥
धनिष्ठादिस्तदा कालो ब्रह्मणा परिकल्पितः ।
रोहिणी त्वभवत् पूर्वमेवं संख्या समाऽभवत् ॥ १० ॥
एवमुक्ते तु शक्रेण त्रिदिवं कृत्तिका गताः ।
नक्षत्रं सप्तशीर्षाभं भाति तद्वह्निदैवतम् ॥ ११ ॥ वनपर्व० २१०

foremost position and therefore retired to a forest to perform austerities. The constellation having thus fallen from the sky Indra was in a difficulty as to the counting of time. At his request therefore Brahma together with Skanda counted time from Dhanishta; while formerly Rohini was at the beginning of time. Thus the number became even. When Indra said so, the Krittikas went to heaven and that constellation with seven stars shines in the heavens. One thing is clear that formerly the Rohini constellation was at the beginning of the Nakshatras, and when subsequently the Dhanishatas were selected for the purpose of counting time the Krittikas were pushed at the headship of Nakshatras and therefore in gladness shone brightly in the heavens.*

As a matter of fact to the end of the epic period the Nakshatras began with the Kritikas. In the Anushasana Parva chap. 64 we have an enumeration of all the Nakshatras in connection with different merits of gifts made at the time of the moon's conjunction with each of them. There are as follows (we give their number also to show what constellations are supposed to consist of one or more stars).

1 Krittikas	8 Maghas	15 Anuradha	22 Dhanishtas
2 Rohini	9 Purva	16 Jyeshtha	23 Shatabhishak
3 Mriga	10 Uttara	17 Mula	24 Purvabhadrapada
4 Ardra	11 Hasta	18 Purvashada	25 Uttarabhadrapada.
5 Punarvasu	12 Chitra	19 Uttarashada	26 Revati
6 Pushya	13 Swati	20 Abhijit	27 Ahwini
7 Ashlesha	14 Vishakhas(2)	21 Shravana	28 Bharanis

* From the list of the Nakshatras given in 4 groups of seven each further on, it will appear that when Rohini stood at the head of the Nakshatra, at the head of the fourth group would be shatataraka and not Dhanishtas.

This is the list which was in vogue even down to the beginning of the Christian era, long after the Mahabharata was last recast, when the modern list commencing with Ashvini was introduced to harmonise with the list of Rashis beginning with Mesha then introduced for the first time. We have shown at length in our first book "The Mahabharata, a criticism" that Rashis or the twelve houses into which the Zodiac is divided were unknown to both the epics.*

There is another legend in the Mahabharata with regard to Rohini's original preeminence among the constelations. The 27 constellations were the daughters of Daksha Prajapati and they were married to the moon. The moon not treating them all alike lived with Rohini for a longer time than with the others. These were accordingly discontented. They asked their father Daksha to intercede in their behalf and on Daksha remonstrating with his son-in-law the latter consented to mend his conduct. But he did not and was consequently cursed by Daksha that he would get consumption. From that curse the moon was released by bathing in the Prabhasa Tirtha (Gadaparva). This legend may be explained thus. The moon's course amoug the Nakshatras is not at the same speed, but is sometimes rapid and sometimes slow. His living with Rohini longer than with the others probably showed that the rate of his motion was slow in that costel-

* The single shloka in the Ramayana where Rashis are mentioned in connection with the birth of Rama is, as we have stated in our second book "The Riddle of the Ramayan" a later interpolation.

lation. The waning of the moon is his consumption and as he rises after his total disappearance afresh in the west, the Prabhasa Tirtha which was in the west was credited with the power of healing him and bringing him to life again.

The above episode shows that the ancient Aryans of India had their attention directed first to the movements of the moon among the 27 constellations which they had already named. But this attention was soon extended to the motion of the sun also; for though much more dazzling than the moon the slower course of the sun among the stars can also be marked by the position of the stars that rise in the east or are setting in the west when the twilight disappears and the stars are visible. The circuit of the sun among the stars was accomplished in 365¼ days roughly while the moon made twelve circuits among them in 354 days. The solar year therefore would contain twelve months and some days more. The Indo-Aryans would neither give up the solar year which with its changing seasons was properly regulated by the sun, nor could they give up the lunar month, as it was most convenient with its dark and bright halves embodying a natural phenomenon. The Indo-Aryans therefore during or before the epic period appear to have invented the cycle of five years which brought the sun and the moon approximately together at its end and had then a common starting point again. The divergence between the lunar months and the solar year was adjusted by the addition of the intercalcery month. It is unnecessary to go here into the astronomical details of this arrangement but it is interesting to

note that this arrangement is mentioned in one of Bhishma's speeches. The Pandavas had agreed to pass twelve years in exile and to remain one year incognito and if discovered before the end of that year to pass twelve years again in exile (whether the year was solar or lunar was not stipulated). Duryodhana succeeded in discovering the Pandavas by his raid on the cattle of Virata and believing that they had not completed their time consulted Bhishma on the subject. The latter said, "Kalas go to make up Kashtas, and then Muhurtas, days, half months and months with the conjunctions of constellations and planets, and seasons are also formed as well as years. The wheel of time thus turns round with its divisions in time. From the overlapping of these divisions and the aberrations of the planets, in every five years two months are born. In this way five additional months and twelve nights grow out of 12 years. This is what I think."*

This gives clearly in short the manner of measuring time that was in vogue during the epic period. There were first the Kalas, the Kashtas, the Muhurtas, the days, the fortnights, the months, the seasons and the years. By the

* कलाः काष्ठाश्च युज्यन्ते गुहूर्तांश्च दिनानिच ।
अर्धमासाश्च मासाश्च नक्षत्राणि ग्रहास्तथा ॥
ऋतवश्चापि युज्यन्ते तथा संवत्सरा अपि ।
एवं कालविभागेन कालचक्रं प्रवर्तते ॥
तेषां कालातिरेकेण ज्योतिषां च व्यतिक्रमात्
पंचमे पंचमे वर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायतः ॥
एवमप्यधिका मासा पंच च द्वादश क्षपाः ॥
त्रयोदशानां वर्षाणामिति मे वर्तते मतिः ॥

difference in the motions of the sun and the moon and the excess of the divisions of time, in every five years two months are found to be in excess and these go to form the intercalcery month. The relations between these divisions are given in Shantiparva and may be exhibited in the following table.*

30 Kashthas make a Kala
30 Kalas = a Muhurta
30 Muhurtas = a day
15 Days = a fortnight
2 Fortnights = a month
2 Months = a season
6 Seasons = a year
5 Years = a cycle or Yuga.

We do not find the Kalas or the Kashthas mentioned with particulars names, but the Muhurta is sometimes mentioned with its name as in the shloka quoted below.† The Muhurta was an important division of the day and although now not much used or thought of, the word still remains and indicates an auspicious or inauspicious moment of time indiscriminately. The day also had come to be an important item. There were no week days however as yet. The

* काष्टा निमेषा दशपंच चैव त्रिंशत्त काष्ठा गणयेत् कलानाम् ।
त्रिंशत्कलश्चापि भवेन्मुहूर्तो भागःकलाया दशमश्चयःस्यात् ॥
शां० २३२ । १२०

† अष्टादश निमेषास्तु काष्ठा त्रिंशत्तु ताः कला ।
त्रिंशत्कलो मुहूर्तस्तु त्रिंशद्रात्र्यहनी च ते ॥ अमर.
ऐंद्रे चंद्रसमारोहे मुहूर्तेऽभिजिदष्टमे ।
दिवो मध्यगते सूर्ये तिथौ पूर्णेतिपूजिते ॥

epics do not mention the week days and it is probable that they were introduced towards the end of the epic period. But the day had its own importance as Tithi or its rank in the fortnight and the Nakshatra or the conjunction of the moon with the particular constellation on that day. Those constellations again had astrologically separate deities presiding over them. In the shloka last referred to the moon is said to be in conjunction with Jyeshtha whose presiding deity is Indra. During the whole of the epic period, the Nakshtras were of the highest importance in every respect. All astrological considerations were based on the Nakshatras *i. e.*, the particular constellation with which the moon was in conjunction at the time, and Nakshatra was evil or good according to its presiding deity. The Nakshatras were consulted at the time of starting on a journey, at the time of marriage or battle. Nakshatras again at the time of birth were believed to determine a man's whole future destiny.* The several inauspicious conjunctions which Vyasa describes to Dhritaráshtra as characterising the beginning of the great fight between the Pandavas and the Kaurvas are chiefly based on the Nakshatras and their presiding deities. The subject is not interesting to the ordinary reader who may be referred to the details given in our note on the subject in our first book "The Mahabharata; a criticism." In modern astrology the presiding deities of the Nakshatras are not of much account and are not

* This was sometimes even then doubted; see

बहवः संप्रदृश्यन्ते तुल्यनक्षत्रमंगलाः ।
महत्तु फलवैषम्यं दृश्यते कर्मसंगिषु ॥

even known, though the Nakshatras still retain their importance

The day was also important as Tithi or its rank in the fortnight; the 5th, the 10th and the 15th are supposed to be Purna or full, some are Rikta or empty and others middling. From Tithis we ascend to the fortnight which was either bright or dark. The month among the Indians began with the new moon; the bright half was thus the first half. This practice was contrary to the practice prevailing in Greece and other countries and the peculiar practice of the Indians has been marked by Greek historians. The following observations from Curtius Rufus show the manner of counting time in vogue among the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion. "Their months they make to consist of two fortnights each of fifteen days bnt they nevertheless assign to the year its full duration. They mark the divisions of time by the course of the moon not like most nations when the planet shows a full face but when she begins to appear horned." This clearly shows that at the time of Alexander's invasion the Indians looked upon the bright half as the first half.

But there are some lines in the Mahabharata which would go to show that the contrary practice was also sometimes prevalent. In Vanaparva chapter 161 Kubera says to Yudhisthira; "stay, without fear and grief, the dark first fortnight." "From the words 'the dark first fortnight'" the commentator himself remarks, "some argue that the dark half is the first half. But that argument is false as the words Purva and Apara

i.e. the first and the second are also applied to the bright and dark halves. The word Purnamasi for the full moon day does not mean etymologically that the *month* was then full but it means that the *moon* was then full, the word Masa denoting the moon.* We have explained this at great length in our commentary on the "Kanva Shatapatha Brahmana". It is unnecessary to go into further details. The fact is clear that at the beginning of the epic period the practice of counting the month from the dark half might have prevailed as in other Aryan countries but that towards the end of the epic period the contrary practice was certainly in vogue. The other practice again came into use after this, perhaps being copied from the Greeks, to suit the shifting back in seasons as measured by the old months which had happened by that time, a reform perhaps introduced by King Vikramaditya like similar reforms in calendars introduced by many kings in the west. That mode still prevails in northern India but in all astronomical calculations and works, the bright half is still taken as the first half.

We now come to the month. The month was ordinarily supposed to consist of 30 days, 15 in each half and the Tithis were accordingly counted up to the 15th in the bright half and 30th or Amavasya in

* It is curioous to remark that the months were naturally enough in all countries originally lunar and the same word masa which originally denoted in Sanskrit the moon, came subsequently to denote the month. The word maha in Persian has similarly both meanings; even the English word month is derived from moon.

the dark half. As a matter of fact however the Amavasya or the conjunction of the sun and the moon did not take place at the interval of 30 days but at the interval of 28 or 29 days. The actual number of Tithis in each half were therefore sometimes less than 15 *i. e.*, 14 or even 13; and sometimes one or even two Tithis had therefore to be omitted; or a Tithi sometimes extended over two sunrises and hence there was the phenomenon of Kshaya (disappearance) or Vriddhi (increase) of Tithis in the month. Most probably at the beginning of the epic period the calculation of Tithis was not very accurate. It is hence that we find Vyasa saying to Dhritarashtra. "I have known Amavasya to fall on the 14th or 15th or even the 16th day but I have never known it to fall on the 13th."* He remarked that as an abnormal phenomenon which boded no good. It is however not an uncommon thing for a fortnight to consist of 13 days and we can only infer that at the time of Vyasa the calculation of Tithis was not very far advanced. The month was usually supposed to consist of 28 days as will be found from the following shloka.† "The constellations moving along with the sun for 28 nights begin again with the sun after its conjunction with the moon."

The months were twelve in number and their names were those now in use besides others which

* चतुर्दशीं पंचदशीं भूतपूर्वांच षोडशीम् ।
इमां तु नाभिजानेहममावास्यां त्रयोदशीम् ॥ भीष्म० ३-३२

† अष्टाविंशतिरात्रं च चक्रम्य सह भानुना ।
निष्पतन्ति पुनः सूर्यात्सोमसंयोगयोगतः ॥

were perhaps in use concurrently with these. These names depend upon the Nakshatras with which the moon is in conjunction on the full moon day of the month and thus the names probably go back to the time when the month originally began with the full moon. These names are 1 Margashirsha 2 Pausha 3 Magha 4 Falguna 5 Chaitra 6 Vaishakha 7 Jyeshtha 8 Ashadha 9 Shravana 10 Bhadrapada 11 Ashwina and 12 Kartika. The names it must be remembered began with Margashirsha and not with Chaitra as in modern times. We find this not only from the fact that the month Margashirsha is also called the Agrahayana or the first of the year nor because in the Gita Krishna says that he is that month but because we actually find the enumeration so beginning in chapters 106 and 109 of the Anushasana Parva where the merit of fasting in different months is given. How and why the month of Margashirsha stood at the head of the twelve months it is outside the scope of this work to discuss. It is sufficient to remark that during the epic period the Nakshtra set began with the Krittikas and the months began with Margashirsha. In both things modern India has changed since about the beginning of the Christian era and the Nakshtras now begin with Ashvini and the months with Chaitra.

The other names of the months which are found in the Brahmanas as predominent rarely occur in the Mahabharata or in the Ramayana. In the shloka quoted below* the month of

* कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे ।
सर्वसस्यसुखे काले कल्ये सत्ववतां वरः ॥

Kartika is called by the name of Kaumuda. This shloka also brings us to the consideration of the seasons. The day is a natural conception; so are a fortnight and a month on account of the moon's phases. The seasons are also a natural phenomenon which must strike every observer. In India the seasons are usually so regular that they could not have escaped the observation of the Indo-Aryans. The six seasons in India *viz*; the summer, the rainy season, the autumn, the winter, the Shishira or waning cold season and the spring come in almost unchangeable rotation and at almost fixed dates. They are called in Sanskrit by the names of ग्रीष्म, वर्षाः, शरद्, हेमन्त, शिशिर, and वसन्त, names which frequently occur in the epics. In the line quoted abvove we are told that Krishna started on his mission of peace in the month of Kartika on the Nakshatra of Revati at the close of the Sharad or autumnal season and on the approach of cold weather when the whole world was happy with grown up grass and corn. This shows that the seasons and the months though not in name different from ours differed a little in time from those of today. Supposing that this description applies to the end of the epic period *i. e.*, to about 300 B. C., it can not be doubted that the seasons have been thrown back in consequence of the precession of the equinoxes by about a month and whereas at present the cold weather commences about the beginning of Kartika now, it must have commenced then about the beginning of Margashirsha. And grass and corn are now full grown in Ashvina rather than in Kartika. The Indians however still count their seasons by months as they

were at the end of the epic period or later still about the beginning of the Christian era; Ashvina and Kartika are thus the months of autumn, Margashirsha and Pausha of winter, Magha and Falguna of waning cold, Chaitra and Vaishakha of Vasanta, Jyeshtha and Ashadha* of Grishma or hot season and lastly Shravana and Bhadrapada of the rainy season. As a matter of fact at the present time the seasons have been thrown back by about a month; the rainy season for instance instead of beginning with Shravana practically begins in Ashadha. The rainy season in India extends over about four months but the Indians count only two months which perhaps indicated its first and principal part. June, July, August and September are the rainy months in India at present, but at the end of the epic period probably July and August and September and October were the rainy months. In the Ramayana Kishkindha Kanda chapter 26 we find the following shloka.† "This is Shravana the first month of the rainy season when water pours down. The season of four months called the rains has commenced." Here we have the rainy season said to extend over four months and to begin with the Shravana month. This is not far different from the nature of the seasons as depicted in the Mahabharata. The rainy season or वर्षाः and autumn or शरद् have been here put together and as the autumn is said to end in Kartika we may well see that the world would then

* शुचिशुक्रागमे काले शुष्येत्तोयमिवाल्पकम् । समा०

† पूर्वोयं वार्षिको मासः श्रावणः सलिलागमः ।
प्रवृत्ताः सौम्य चत्वारो मासा वार्षिकसंज्ञिताः ॥१४॥

be happy on account of the full growth of grass and corn.

The seasons were caused, it was known, by the fact that the sun moved for some months towards the south. In Chapter 163 (shlokas 25 to 38) of Vanaparva we are told that " the sun creates winter by going towards the south. Returning he absorbs all water by his heat, and men then become enervated. He then creates showers and wind and heat and thus fertilises the earth and then again returns to the south. Thus does the sun by his constant and unalterable motion take from and give to the world its strength."

The six seasons naturally form the year whose conception can only be had by the unchanging recurrence of the seasons. The year therefore was naturally the solar one, the seasons depending upon the course of the sun towards the south and the north. The exact duration of the year *i. e.*, the time that elapses between its going to the southernmost point and its return again to that point had probably been measured long before the epic period or about its beginning. The yearly sacrifice was the great incentive to the accurate measurement of the year and the two parts into which it was divided the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana and the equinoctial and solsticial days were well known. The Uttaryana was considered to be the holier of the two as we find from the Gita itself, chapter 8 (32 of Bhishma parva.).*

* अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा उत्तरायणम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गच्छन्ति ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदो जनाः ॥ २४ ॥

Bhishma waited for the return of the sun towards the north before he allowed his soul to pass away from his body which lay wounded on a bed of arrows. We may believe therefore that the course of the sun towards the south and the north was accurately measured and known during the epic period. Why the sun went towards the south annually was probably not known. In fact it is impsssible to expect that the ancient Indo-Aryans could have known the inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic or that the earth moved round the sun. The ancient Indians appear also not to have known the diurnal motion of the earth round itself nor even if the earth was round. In common with other peoples the Indians could only explain how the sun rose every day in the east and set in the west in one way.* "After setting in the west the sun goes towards the north and going round the Meru mountain again rises in the east; similarly the moon makes a round about the Meru as also the Nakshatras."

The year or Samvatsara as it was called with its two halves the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana and the equinoctial and solsticial points was however well understood. And in order to reconcile the lunar months with the solar year, the cycle of

धूमो रात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चांद्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥ २५ ॥

* अस्तं प्राप्य ततःसंध्यामतिक्रम्य दिवाकरः ।
उदीचीं भजते काष्ठां दिशमेष विभावसुः ॥ ३० ॥
स मेरुमनुवृत्तः सन्पुनर्गच्छति पाण्डव ।
प्राङ्मुखः सविता देवः सर्वभूतहिते रतः ॥ ३१ ॥ वन० १६३

five years called Yuga, as has already been stated, was invented. The conception of longer periods of time than these cycles of five years also called Yugas had also been made and was complete before the end of the epic period. It has come down to us in that very form. The idea of the four ages called Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali, each worse than its predecessor is found even in the Brahmanas* and existed even among the Greeks and other ancient peoples. These four Yugas combined formed a Chaturyugi or Mahayuga or great cycle, The lengths of the Kali, Dvapara, Treta and Krita Yugas were, as given in the Mahabharata Vanaparva chapt 188, one, two, three and four thousand years with one, two, three and four hundred years as Sandhya and Sandhyansha. The whole Chaturyuga therefore consisted of 12000 years and was also called a Mahayuga or by the simple name of Yuga and one thousand such Yugas formed Brahma's one day.† The Manusmriti gives the same enumeration. Modern works on Indian astronomy adopt the same calculation with this explanation that the 12000 years of which the Chaturyuga consists are divine years each of which is equivalent to 360 human years.

It is believed by some Indian scholars that at the time of the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti, this idea had not come into existence and that when

* कलिः शयानो भवति संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठंस्त्रेता भवति कृतं संपद्यते चरन् ॥ ऐतरेय ब्रा०

† एषा द्वादशसाहस्री युगाख्या परिकीर्तिता ।
एतत्सहस्रपर्यन्तमहो ब्राह्ममुदाहृतम् ॥ वन० । १८८ । २८

the Mahabharata was last recast, the Indo-Aryans actually believed that the Kali age consisted only of 1000 human years. The idea that a day of the gods consisted of the Uttarayana and the Dakshinayana is an old one and is given in the Manusmriti itself; 1000 Chaturyugas are here said to form one Brahma's day and in the Gita we are also told that Brahma's night is equally long. In this way it appears probable that the years mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti are really divine years. This inference is denied by some and the question is one of a controversial nature. We will not pursue the controversy here as it would be uninteresting to the ordinary reader. We will only remark that the Indo-Aryans with their high ideas about the infinity of time could not have believed that the Kali age in which they lived at least at the end of the epic period consisted of 1000 human years only and was to last only a hundred years or two after the Greek conquest. The Kritayuga was to begin according to the notion of the Mahabharata when the sun, the moon, Jupiter and Tishya or the Pushya constellation would come together in one heap.* It was an almost impossible combination. They did not know the method of calculating the position of planets at any particular time and probably gave an imaginary auspicious conjunction as the inaugurator of the blessed Krita age.

We have now taken the reader from the lowest

* यदा चंद्रश्च सूर्यश्च तथा तिष्यबृहस्पती ।
एकराशौ समेष्यंति प्रवर्त्स्यति तदा कृतम् ॥ वन०

measurement of time, the Kala, to the highest *viz.*, the Yuga or Chaturyuga and beyond *viz.*, a day of Brahma eqivalent to one thousand Chaturyugas or Kalpa which is referred to even in the Gita* This conception of time was probably developed in India itself. It may perhaps have been influenced by the Chaldæan conception of a cycle consisting of 60 x 60 x 12 or 43200 years, one year standing to the "world year" of the Babylonians in the relation of a second to a year (the Babylonian day was divided into 12 hours only) † That it was developed during the epic period we have not the slightest doubt for at the beginning of it and in the Brahmanas we find the word Yuga yet indicative of an indefinitely long or as the Upanishads put it "One, two, ten thousand years and more," in fact of an inconceivably long time without measure. Its precise limitation was perhaps the work of Garga as we find in the Sarasvati Akhyana of the Gadaparva chapt. 37 a reference‡ to it. "Garga on the banks of the Sarasvati obtained a knowledge of time and its march, the aberration of the planets and the auspicious and inauspicious unusual events." When this Garga lived and whether he was the same whose Samhita is extant it is impossible to guess.

* सर्वं भूतानि कौंतेय प्रकृतिं याति मामिकाम् ।
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ विसृजाम्यहम् ॥ गीता ९ । ७

† Greek Thinkers by Gomperz page 142,

‡ तत्र गर्गेण वृद्धेन तपसा भावितात्मना ।
कालज्ञानगतिश्चैव ज्योतिषां च व्यतिक्रमः ॥ १५ ॥
उत्पाता दारुणाश्चैव शुभाश्च जनमेजय ।
सरस्वत्या शुभे तीर्थे विदिता वै महात्मना ॥ १६ ॥

Garga, it is here said, knew the aberration of the planets. It seems probable that at the beginning of the epic period the Indo-Aryans had obtained a knowledge of the planets. These planets moving among the stars were seven in number 1 the sun 2 the moon 3 Mercury 4 Venus 5 Mars, 6 Jupiter and 7 Saturn.* They also probably had measured the average periods of their progress through the constellations ; and Garga found out their deviations or it may be that the word *Vyatikrama* simply means "march" or "progress". We would believe that until Garga's time the Indo-Aryans only knew the seven planets and with the exception of the sun and the moon they did not know their periods of revolution round the earth. The references to the planets in the epics are too numerous to mention. Some planets were evil by nature *viz.*, Saturn and Mars; the latter especially, being red, boded blood-shed. Jupiter was the most auspicious planet of all. Particular conjuctions of planets and Nakshatras were again inauspicious as also some conjunctions of two planets.† In the evil omens described by Vyasa to Dhritarashtra as preceding the great war (Bhishmaparva Chap. 3) and by Karna to Krishna as the latter was leaving Hastinapura after his unsuccessful attempt at mediation (Udyogaparva

* ते पीडयन् भिमसेनं क्रुद्धाः सप्त महारथाः ।
प्रजासंहरणे राजन् सोमं सप्त ग्रहा इव ॥ भीष्म० । १९-२२

Here the seven Grahas spoken of are exclusive of Soma or the moon and hence the seven may include Rahu. The combination of seven planets oppressing the moon in apposition is considered as productive of a very great destruction of human life.

† यथा दिवि महाघोरौ राजन् बुधशनैश्चरौ ॥ भीष्म । १०४ । २०

Chap. 143) many such evil conjunctions are mentioned. Probably these were copied from the work of Garga who as shown above was believed to have obtained a knowledge of good and evil omens. Two or three facts are however clear. The progress of the planets was still measured by the Nakshatras which were the only basis of calculation then known ; again the retrograde motions of the planets were known and were considered as specially inauspicious. Thirdly a white planet or Dhumaketu (or comet) is also spoken of while Rahu who is supposed to be a Rakshasa who attacks the sun and the moon when they are eclipsed is looked upon as having a position on the ecliptic,* and the simple word Graha is very often used in the Mahabharata to denote Rahu. The cause of the solar and the lunar eclipse was thus probably known though the old notion that Rahu was a Rakshasa still remained and is alluded to in many places in the Mahabharata.†

Such was the astronomical knowledge of the ancient Indo-Aryans during the epic period. It was developed owing to its being required for sacrifices and astrological prognostications. Purely astronomical research was perhaps absent. The very great advance which later Indian astronomy made hereafter was due to the influence of the Greeks and the Scythians who invaded and settled in the country for a long time in Central India,

* राहुरर्कमुपैति च । भीष्म०

† अत्र मध्ये समुद्रस्य कबन्धः प्रतिदृश्यते ।
स्वर्भानोः सूर्यकल्पस्य सोमसूर्यौ जिघांसतः ॥ उद्यो० ११० । ११

especially at Ujjain about the beginning of the Christian era.

One or two facts however show that the Indo-Aryans were not quite without a taste for astronomical observation. "You can not see the back of the moon" is a statement which one comes across in the Shantiparva* and such a statement can only be made by one who has constantly observed the moon carefully. Though the phases of the moon had not been properly explained, it appears that it was known that it shines by light borrowed from the sun. We shall close this chapter with quoting a shloka of the nature of a riddle which goes to show that the Indo-Aryans may have had used astronomical instruments or it may be that the conceptions embodied in the shloka may have led to the construction of instruments for measuring heavenly motions.

"Ashtavakra :—May that constantly revolving wheel protect thee with its twenty four Parvas or joints, its six navals, twelve rims and three hundred and sixty spokes."

It is needless to remark that the twenty-four joints are the twenty-four full moon and new moon days in the year, the six navals are the six seasons, the 12 rims are the 12 months and the 360 spokes are the 360 days in the year as it is usually conceived.

* यथा हिमवतः पार्श्वं पृष्ठं चंद्रमसो यथा ।
न दृष्टपूर्वं मनुजैर्न च तन्नास्ति तावता ॥ शांति २०३ । ६

अष्टवक्रः—चतुर्विंशन्तिपर्वं त्वां षण्नाभि द्वादशप्रधि ।
तत्त्रिषष्टिशतारं वै चक्रं पातु सदागाति ॥ २५ ॥ वन । १३३

CHAPTER XV.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Every language in the world must at least once have been a spoken language and this proposition holds good of Sanskrit also. The Indo-Aryans once did speak that language and they very probably did so at the beginning of the epic period. It is possible to suppose that the speeches in the Mahabharata are all the emanation of the poet's brain. But the language of the poem as a whole, especially in some of its parts, bears the stamp of a spoken language being very elastic and unelaborated. In the Bhagavad-Gita we see the language at its best; forms of words especially verbs come fresh and without restraint and long and obscure compounds which laboured Sanskrit subsequently developed are conspicuous by their absence. That the Sanskrit language was, within epic days, a spoken language is proved beyond doubt by the instance of slang terms of abuse* used by women in the Punjab noticed by Karna in his rancorous conversation with Shalya.

It is equally certain that by the end of the epic period Sanskrit had ceased to be a spoken language and was confined only to learned men. Had it been otherwise Buddha would not have

* आहुरन्योन्यसूक्तानि प्रब्रुवाणा मदोत्कटा: ।
हे हते हे हतेत्येवं स्वामिभर्तृहतेति च ॥ कर्ण० ४४ । १०

preached his new religion in Magadhi. The old spoken Sanskrit had become popularised and simplified in the form of the several Prakrit languages spoken in the several provinces of India where the Indo-Aryans had settled. This change of language was also due to the mixture of races. The aboriginal people could not have spoken the Sanskrit language correctly and the common people composed of Vaishyas and Shudras naturally simplified forms and sounds and developed certain Prakrits of their own. We see a strong confirmation of this theory in the interesting use of the word Mlenccha in the following line;* "The Aryas do not Mlencchise in speech" *i.e.*, as the commentator explains it, do not commit mistakes in speaking. The Mlencchas or non-Aryans who attempted to speak the Sanskrit language naturally committed mistakes and were unable to pronounce the hard sounds in Sanskrit correctly and the Aryans must have strongly condemned this gradual change of language and pronunciation. But the mixed races became by and by numerous and compelled the Sanskrit language to retire into the college and the sacrificial room. When the Prakrits were born it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. But they were born without doubt long before Buddha was born in 557 B. C.

In their intercourse with the aborigines as well as with people beyond India the Indo-Aryans must naturally have come into contact with many languages and some of them may have found it con-

* नार्या म्लेच्छंति भाषाभिर्मायया न चरंत्युत । आदि०

venient or necessary to learn foreign languages also. It is in a foreign language that Vidura conveys to Dharma secretly the information that the house he were going to occupy in Varanavata was made of inflammable material. The spoken language of the Indo-Aryans would thus gather some words from foreign and aboriginal languages and it is not unnatural therefore to expect that the Prakrit languages which were developed hereafter had a large sprinkling of non-Aryan words in them. Nay it is said that even in the Rigveda non-Sanskrit words are sometimes to be found clearly indicating that the Aryans had intercourse with non-Aryan peoples and often borrowed words from their languages even at that remote date.

It is however strange that the Mahabharata as it is makes no mention of any Prakrit languages as being spoken in India. Probably there was no occasion for such mention. Nor did the author think it necessary like most of the writers of Dramas in later Sanskrit to make its women and its low characters speak in Prakrit. Even thə Chandalas or Shvapachas in the Mahabharata speak in Sanskrit. Perhaps when the original Bharata was written Prakrits had no existence and Vyasa naturally enough wrote in Sanskrit. When Sauti recast the poem into its present form about 300 or 200 B. C. the Prakrits were already formed and were in fact the spoken language of the country. But the learned used Sanskrit alone and the form of the original poem must have influenced its last recasting. It is also probable that in opposition to the Buddhists who used the common language to teach their religion the

Mahabharata which as we have shown was given a religious form by Sauti mainly to counteract the influence of Buddhisum was entirely written in Sanskrit the language of the orthodox religious books of the Aryans of India. Though the Indo-Aryans had towards the end of the epic period developed provincial dialects, of course mainly derived from Sanskrit, the literature of the Indo-Aryans remained in the Sanskrit language and we shall now go on to speak of that literture alone. Buddhist literature as a matter of fact came into existence in the days of Ashoka and we may properly exclude it from our consideration when we speak of epic India.

The Vedas were already completely arranged, divided and numbered. The Rigveda especially, it is stated in the Mahabharata, contained ten thousand verses* The arrangement of the Vedas is ascribed in the Mahabharata first to Apantaratamas and then to Vyasa. Whether Shaunaka preceded or followed Vyasa we are not sure but he is admittedly the last Rishi who arranged the Mantras of the Rigveda and made the Sarvanukramani of it giving the proper use of each Mantra. The pedigree of Shaunaka is given in the Mahabharata Anushasanaparva chapter 30. There it is related that Vitahavya who was orginally a Kashatriya and became a Brahmin by the mere word of Bhrigu had a son named Gritsamada whose hymn stands first in the Rigveda. Gritsamada's son was Sachetas whose son again was Varchas and so on until we have Shaunaka from Shunaka in the 16th generation from Gritsamada.

* दशेदं ऋक्सहस्राणि निर्मथ्यामृतमुद्धृतम् । अनु०

Shaunaka probably became a family name and hence it is not at all unlikely that the Shaunaka to whom the Mahabharata was last related by Sauti was a descendant of this Shaunaka and not the same Shaunaka himself.

The Vedas are usually three in number but the Atharva Veda is also sometimes mentioned. The Vedas had separate Brahmanas attached to them and we have the mention of Tandi in the Anushasanaparva. This Tandi was a great devotee of Shiva and is credited there with the authorship of the Shivasahasranama. There is a Brahmana named after Tandi attached to the Yajurveda.

Besides the Vedas *i.e.*, the Mantra and Brahmana, the 6 *Angas* of the Vedas are also mentioned as well as the Upanishads and other works in a passage of great importance. In the beginning of the Sabhaparva chapter 5 we have a detailed description of Narada's attainments as noted below.* The shlokas can only be elucidated by the help of the commentator but we can believe at once that various

* वेदोपनिषदां वेत्ता ऋषिः सुरगणार्चितः ।
इतिहासपुराणज्ञः पुराकल्पविशेषवित् ॥ २
न्यायविद्धर्मतत्त्वज्ञः षडंगविदनुत्तमः ।
ऐक्यसंयोगनानात्वसमवायविशारदः ॥ ३
पंचावयवयुक्तस्य वाक्यस्य गुणदोषवित् ।
उत्तरोत्तरवक्ता च वदतोऽपि बृहस्पतेः ॥ ५
धर्मकामार्थमोक्षेषु यथावत्कृतनिश्चयः ।
तथा भुवनकोशस्य सर्वस्यास्य महामतिः ॥ ६
सांख्ययोगविभागज्ञोऽनिर्विवित्सुः सुरासुरान् ।
संधिविग्रहतत्त्वज्ञस्त्वनुमानविभागवित् ॥ ७
षाड्गुण्यविधियुक्तस्य सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।
युद्धगान्धर्वसेवी च सर्वत्राप्रतिघस्तथा ॥ ८

branches of learning had been developed by the end of the epic period. The 6 angas of the Vedas are first 1 Shiksha 2 Kalpa 3 Vyakarana 4 Chhandas 5 Nirukta and 6 Jyotisha. These are very important sciences and it is a great credit to the Indo-Aryans that all these sciences were cultivated and studied at so early a date. We refer especially to Vyakarana or grammar which the Indo Aryans studied zealously and which reached such a high state of development that Sanskrit grammar will always command the respect and the admiration of the thinking world. All this development was made during the epic period. Panini the great grammarian of India is however not mentioned in the Mahabharata. But there is not the least doubt that Panini was not the originator of the science of grammar for he could not have written the masterpiece of grammar which he has left as an imperishable legacy to the world unless the science had long been studied before him. In fact Vyakarana is an Anga of the Vedas and must have been studied from the beginning of the epic period. Thus we find that in the Bhagvad-Gita itself we have the line द्वंद्वःसामासिकस्यच. This is not an argument to hold that the Gita is subsequent to the great grammarian of India, for we can never believe that the nomenclature of Sanskrit grammar was first invented by Panini and had no existence before him. The whole science of grammar had nearly developed to its highest form before Panini and his grammar was only the highest development of it and therefore naturally enough supplanted all the grammars that preceded it. His grammar is now recited by the students of the Veda as the

Vyakarana Anga of the Vedas and has become the starting point for all future thinkers and writers. The great Vartika of Katyayana and the greater Bhashya of Patanjali take for their basis the grammar of Panini. This Bhashya is mentioned vaguely in the Mahabharata* but clearly in the Ramayana† which in its present shape mentions also Vyadi's Sangraha besides the three orthodox treatises on grammar *viz.*, 1 Panini's Sutra, 2 Katyayana's Vartika and 3 Patanjali's Mahabhashya. Two more authors are mentioned in the Mahabharata but it is not quite clear whether they wrote on grammar or some other subject *viz*, Shâkalya and Sãvarni, who are said to have become well known authors by the favour of Shiva. The son of the former became, it is said, a Sutrakara.‡ Probably he was a Sutrakara on grammar who preceded Panini as Panini often mentions his opinion in his Sutras with respect.

Next to grammar, astronomy or Jyotisha occupied an important position and had many authors on it The Mahabharata does not mention the name of Lagadha whose work is now recited by the learners of Veda as an Anga of the Vedas in the same way as

* ये च भाष्यविदः केचिद् ये च व्याकरणे रताः ।
अधीयंते पुराणं च धर्मशास्त्राण्यथापि ये ॥ अनु० 80. १५

† स सूत्रवृत्त्यर्थपदं महार्थं ससंग्रहं सिध्यति वै कपीन्द्रः ॥ उत्तर ३६

‡ शाकल्यः संशितात्मा वै नववर्षशतान्यपि ।
आराधयामास भवं मनोयज्ञेन केशव
भविष्यति द्विजश्रेष्ठ सूत्रकर्ता सुतस्तव
सावर्णिश्चापि विख्यात ऋषिरासीत्कृते युगे
ग्रंथकृल्लोकविख्यातो भवितास्यजरामरः ॥ अनु० १४ । १००-१०४

it does not mention Panini's name. But we have the mention of Garga who is supposed to have acquired a knowledge of the planets and their motion on the banks of the Sarasvati. Then comes the Nirukta or Etymology of Yaska who is also not mentioned by name but whose work comes under the Vedangas, and the Chhandas or Prosody of Pingala.

The Upanishads are philosophical portions of the Brahmanas of the Vedas and are too well-known to require any comment. They were, at least the oldest Upanishads were, composed in the beginning of the epic period. The Purakalpas again are probably old stories related in the Vedas themselves. Did they form any separate literature or were they, as it is usually asserted, merely portions of the Vedas? Probably like the Upanishads they remained a part and parcel of the Vedas but were usually separately studied. The next subject mentioned as one in which Narada was proficient is Itihasa-Purana. The Purana appears to have been a very old branch of literature and there were also from ancient times Sutas whose duty it was to recite them. These Puranas have been handed down to us in their latest forms which do not date back beyond the 8th century A. D. Nor is it certain if the old Puranas even bore the same names as they do now. The Itihasa was again a separate branch of literature but allied to them for their names always go together and are jointly mentioned even in the Upanishads. It consisted of particular historical stories written by particular authors. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana distinctly admit that they are

Itihasas. It appears probable that during the epic days there were many other Itihasas besides these two. But when these two were last recast they probably supplanted all the other works either by their inclusion in them or by reason of their dwindling down into insignificance by the side of these all-engrossing epics. In the Mahabharata strangely enough the word Itihasa is used to denote the Mahabharata itself and not only Narada knew it but even Drona who was an actor in the Mahabharata fight. The word Akhyana in the line येऽधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् सांगानाख्यानपंचमान् is explained by the commentator to mean पुराणभारतादि which is indeed strange in connection with Drona. It appears clear that during the epic period, the Bharata was a separate well known work which was respected and generally studied.

What Shastra or subject of study is hinted at in the line ऐक्यसंयोगनानात्वसमवायविशारदः it is difficult to say. The commentator explains the line as applicable to all Shastras. We will however pass it over as an inexplicable line and come to the next which clearly admits the existence of Gautama's Nyaya philosophy which is chiefly and pre-eminently concerned with logic. The "sentence with its five parts" is equivalent to the syllogism of the Greek logicians and the usual faults and defects of a deduction were then clearly known as in modern logic. The Nyaya philosophy must thus have been older than the last recasting of the Mahabharata. When Gautama lived scholars have not been able to determine, nor is Gautama's name mentioned in the Mahabharata. It cannot however be much disputed that Gautama

was the founder of the Nyaya philosophy and though the Sutras which now go by his name may have been later than the Mahabharata in its present form, the Nyaya philosophy which is referred to in it* as also in Buddhist literature must have risen and made great progress in the epic period.

The next line gives us ground to suppose that besides logic rhetoric was also cultivated in the epic period. The power which a disputant acquires by the aid of logic and rhetoric is well known but it is strange that while logic continued to develop down to a very late period, rhetoric was neglected and eventually was never put into the form of a special science. We, however, discover the germs of it in the line "the speaker of speeches one rising above another even if Brihaspati were opposed to him" and it is probable that the philosophic disputations in which the Indo-Aryans took great delight led them to cultivate logic as well as rhetoric. We see some specimens of such disputations, specimens which remind us somewhat of Plato's dialogues, in the Mahabharata and we quote the Sulabha-Janaka dialogue in Shantiparva in the appendix. for the curious reader. In the speech of Sulabha are enumerated the several good and bad qualities of a speech and their definitions. Probably rhetoric retired into the background with the growth of the Alankara Shastra or poetics which does not seem to have been known in the epic period but which came into being and rose into undue prominence later on.

* न्यायतंत्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः ॥ शां. ॥ २१०।२२

Cosmology is next hinted at in the line **तथा भुवनकोशस्य सर्वस्यास्य महामति** : and it is not unnatural to expect that the intellectual awakening of the epic period must have extended in India as in Greece over several branches of speculation. But the most important popular subjects of study were the Sankhya and the Yoga. What treatises there were on these philosophies we do not know for the books now read *viz.*, the Sankhya Karika of Kapila and Patanjali's Yoga Sutra undoubtedly belong to the end of the epic period if they are not still later. The founder of the Sankhya philosophy Kapila has his name mentioned among those of the Rishis and he is referred to as a great thinker even in the Shvetashvatara Upanishad. His name is frequently mentioned in the Mahabharata itself where the Sankhya philosophy is often styled as the Kapilamata. Who the original founder of the Yoga philosophy was it is not stated anywhere (Hiranyagarbha being mentioned as its first teacher as we shall see later on), nor are any books on this subject mentioned anywhere in the Mahabharata. The word Yoga however constantly occurs in the epic and its apparent opposition to Sankhya is noted even in the Bhagvad-Gita.

The next subject of study indicated in the long list of Narada's attainments is politics with its several branches of Sandhi, Vigraha, etc. The works of Brihaspati and Shukra on the subject have been mentioned in the Mahabharata frequently and have already been noticed. It is a pity that we have neither of these books preserved to us. Shukra Niti alone exists but not necessarily in the form in which it existed during the epic period.

Lastly Narada is said to be an expert in the arts of Yuddha and Gandharva. The science of war is mentioned in several places and the Nagara Sutra which probably was concerned with the construction of towns and forts. What authors were known on these sciences* we are not told. Nor are we told the names of the author or authors on music; but music was undoubtedly studied and cultivated during the epic period. There are frequent references to the science in the Mahabharata. It is even possible that India was the birth-place of music as of grammar since Pythagoras is said to have carried his seven notes from this country.

It is perhaps strange that the Smritis are not mentioned in the Mahabharata by name. Probably the Smritis had no existence then. The Manu-Smriti was, as is well known, not a Smriti originally but a Dharma Shastra. Dharma Shastra is mentioned in the list above quoted and it consisted probably of some Sutras. The Smriti literature as a whole is of later origin. We may however caution the reader against this kind of evidence as we have often done before. The absence of the mention of a thing is of no value unless it is shown that the mention of it was necessary. Nor is it possible to state with perfect certainty that there is no mention of

* The following shloka contains the names of the founders of some of the various Shastras.

वेदविद्वेद भगवान् वेदांगानि बृहस्पतिः ।
भार्गवो नीतिशास्त्रं तु जगाद जगतो हितम् ॥
गांधर्वं नारदो वेद भरद्वाजो धनुर्ग्रहं ।
देवर्षिचरितं गार्ग्यः कृष्णात्रेयश्चिकित्सितम् ॥ शां० २१०–२१

Smritis in this epic of vast dimensions. It is however a strong corroboration of our idea that in the list of the subjects which, Narada himself states in the Chhandogya Upanishad, he had studied the Smritis do not occur. "What have you learnt" asks Sanat Kumara whom Narada requests to teach him Brahma and Narada answers "I have studied 1 Rigveda 2 Yajurveda 3 Samaveda 4 Atharvaveda, 5 Itihasa-Purana 6 Grammar 7 Pitrya (ritual) 8 Rashi (arithmetic or the science of number) 9 Daivanidhi 10 Vakovakyam Ekayanam 11 Deva-vidya, 12 Brahma-vidya 13 Bhuta-vidya 14 Kshatra-vidya 15 Nakshatra-vidya and 16 Sarpa-Devajana-vidya.* Had Smritis been then in existence they

* Prapathaka 7 This list is extremely interesting as it shows what subjects of study were in existence at the beginning of the epic period and what were yet to be born. The Vedangas had, it seems clear, not assumed that status; their subjects were however studied under different names. Thus grammar was called Vedanam Vedam, 2 Prosody was called Brahma Vidya 3 Joytisha was called Nakshatra Vidya 4 Kalpa was ritual or पित्र्यम् 5 Shiksha was perhaps Devavidya and probably included Nirukta also. Sarpa—Devajana-Vidya is translated by Shankara as the science of antidotes and the fine arts including dancing, singing, music, architecture, painting &c. It is not at all to be wondered that medicine was cultivated at so early date from what we find in Egyptian history. Singing too was a very old science and the Samaveda actually came into existence because certain hymns of the Rigveda were sung. This list may well be compared with the list of Narada's qualifications quoted in the text. We have of course in addition here the science of numbers or राशि which may well have been omitted. It may be stated by the way that राशि is a word which still survives in this significance in the commonly known word त्रैराशिक. Now the Nyaya, Sankhya and Yoga are not mentioned in this list and it

would undoubtedly have been mentioned. It is necessary to add that the Brahmasutras of Badarayana which are later than the Mahabharata quote even the Mahabharata as a Smriti. The word Smriti or Smaryate is there applied to any authoritative sentence which belongs to a book other than the Shrutis or Vedas which word denotes the Mantras and the Brahmanas.

This finishes nearly the whole range of literature or subjects of study that existed during the epic period. Literature as such had not been born. The subjects for study were religion, philosophy, politics, grammar, music, language and the practical sciences of war, agricalture, medicine, mining and building all of which probably were in the expending stage without any standard authors on them. The Augustan period of Sanskrit literature came after the end of the epic period and even the philosophical literature had yet to be elaborated though, as we shall presently show, philosophical speculation had attaind its highest growth during the epic period. Later writers put together what the masters had thought out in that period and wrote treatises and Sutras on the six Darshanas which became inexorable texts for succeeding generations in India.

seems that they had not grown into Shastras in the days of the Upanishads.

CHAPTER XVI.

RELIGION.

At the beginning of the epic period which we take to commence from the end of the Vedic period, the religion of the Indo-Aryans was naturally enough purely Vedic. The Vedic religion consisted of prayer and sacrifice. It recognised many gods, almost all being idealisations of natural phenomena. In fact Vedic worship was mainly nature worship. The Indo-Aryans were all along pantheistic, identifying the world with God and God with the world. They were also heinotheistic as Prof. Max Muller puts it, identifying every god with the rest and the supreme and one God. The Rigveda at the beginning of the epic period was already a completed book and was looked upon as a revelation. The Rishis who had composed the hymns in praise of the several Vedic deities, or in prayer to them were already divine beings who had uttered these Mantras under divine inspiration. The Rigveda was the book of revelation and the Yajurveda was the book of ritual. The Samaveda was merely a collection of Rigveda hymns which were to be chanted. These Vedas, it was the duty of every Aryan to learn by heart. It is probable that the Vaishyas did not care much to learn by heart this voluminous literature. But the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins did it with equal zest.

We find in the Ramayana that Rama was as well-versed in the Vedas as in archery. Yudhisthira too was equally learned in the Vedas, but the differentiation in occupation had in his days begun and the learning of the Vedas was being abandoned by the Kshatriyas and the practice of the bow by the Brahmins. Karna in contempt for the Vedic proficiency of Yudhisthira says* "you are proficient in a Brahmin's duty, in reciting the Vedas and in performing sacrifices; but do not meddle in fighting nor face valiant men."

The Kshatriyas as well as the Brahmins performed their Sandhya and their sacrifice twice a day without fail. The Ramayana no where omits to mention that Rama and Laxmana and even Sita performed their Sandhya at the proper time. Sandhya was a prayer and it consisted of certain Vedic Mantras. The sacrifice was the throwing of an oblation of clarified butter and small sticks of particular trees usually and oblations of flesh occasionally, into the household fire. This fire was kept always burning and was usually taken with the householder wherever he went. This fire worship was not very troublesome as at first sight appears and it was attended to by every Aryan at least every Brahmin and Kshatriya religiously and scrupulously.

We have a graphic description of the daily religious duty performed by Yudhisthira and also by Krishna in the Mahabharata. We have already

* ब्राह्मे बले भवान् युक्तः स्वाध्याये यज्ञकर्मणि ।
मा स्म युद्ध्यस्व कौंतेय मा स्म वीरान्समासदः ॥ कर्ण० ४९-५६

quoted the first description given in chapter 82 of the Dronaparva. Yudhisthira rises early, bathes and first does his Sandhya or prayer. He next enters the sacrificial fire apartment and throws the usual oblations of sacred sticks and clarified butter into the fire reciting the requisite Vedic Mantras.* So also in the Udyogaparva chapter 83 we have a very interesting description of how Krishna starts on his journey to Hastinapura to mediate peace between the belligerents† "Having performed his early morning duties, and having bathed and become clean and having decked himself Krishna worshipped the sun and the fire." The worship of the sun is the chief part of the daily Sandhya and the worship of the fire means the usual sacrifice with sticks and clarified butter. When in the evening he reached Vrikasthala and the western sky was red with the evening glare, he got down from his chariot and having made ablutions performed the evening Sandhya.‡ In short both in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata we find the Kshatriyas and the Brahmins careful and punctual in the performance of their Sandhya and sacrifice.

Both Krishna and Yudhisthira are shown in the above passages to have, after performing their

* समिद्भिःस पवित्राभिरग्निमाहुतिभिस्तदा ।
मंत्रपूताभिरर्चित्वा निश्चक्राम ततो गृहात् ॥ १४।८२

† कृत्वा पौर्वाण्हिकं कृत्यं स्नातःशुचिरलंकृतः ।
उपतस्थे विवस्वन्तं पावकं च जनार्दनः ॥८१।९

‡ प्रकीर्णरश्मावादित्ये व्योम्नि वै लोहितायति ।
अवतीर्य रथात्तूर्णं कृत्वा शौचं यथाविधि ॥
रथमोचनमादिश्य संध्यामुपविवेश ह ॥ उद्यो ८४।११

Sandhya and their sacrifice, touched a cow's tail and to have made gifts to Brahmins. This appears to have been a very old practice though it may not have been as old as the beginning of the epic period.

It must however be remarked that there was yet no idol worship. In the detailed descriptions of what Krishna and Yudhisthira did in their daily religious duty, we have no mention of their having worshipped idols; if there had been any idol-worship it would assuredly have been mentioned. We are therefore constrained to hold that idol worship had no existence in the beginning of the epic period. Idol worship was the outcome of Buddhism and Jainism and the orthodox Indo-Aryans were influenced by the catching example of Jains and Baud-dhas worshipping idols of Buddha and of Jaina and imitating their example had temples raised to Vishnu and Shiva and other Vedic and non-Vedic deities. We accordingly find in the interpolated chapters in the Mahabharata—chapters which we have shown to be interpolated on other grounds—a mention of temples and idols. So in the Bhishmaparva where the evil omens are described which precede the fight we find it stated that the idols of gods trembled laughed, emitted blood from their mouths, perspired, or fell down"* Even these appear to be idols in the public temples. We have still no mention of daily idol worship at home. The Grihya Sutras which describe the daily duties

* देवताप्रतिमाश्चैव कंपंति च हसंति च ।
वमंति रुधिरं चास्यैः स्विद्यन्ति प्रपतंति च ॥ भीष्म २।२६

of a Brahmin and other twice-born castes do not mention any idol worship. These Sutras cannot be much later than the Mahabharata and we may be sure that idol worship as a daily duty did not exist even at the end of the epic period.

The Vedic deities were thirty-three in number but all the deities did not come thus to be idolized. The thirty-three gods of the Vedas were the 8 Vasus, the 11 Rudras, the 12 Adityas, Indra and Prajapati, as mentioned in a passage of the Brihadaranya Upanishad.* The Mahabharata enumerates these 33 deities† somewhat differently, probably as they were worshipped at the close of the epic period. The thirty-three gods were 11 Rudras 12 Adityas 8 Vasus and 2 Ashvins named severally as follows :—

Rudras.	Adityas.	Vasus.	Ashvins.
1 Ajaikapad	1 Amsha	1 Dhara	1 Nasatya
2 Ahirbudhnya	2 Bhaga	2 Dhruwa	2 Dasra, being the sons of Martanda or the sun.
3 Pinaki	3 Mitra	3 Soma	
4 Aparajita	4 Varuna	4 Savitri	
5 Rita	5 Dhata	5 Anila (wind)	
6 Pitrirupa	6 Aryama	6 Anala (fire)	
7 Tryambaka	7 Jayanta	7 Pratyusha (morning)	
8 Maheshvara	8 Bhaskara	8 Prabhasa (evening)	
9 Vrishakapi	9 Tvashta		
10 Shambhu	10 Pushan		
11 Havana	11 Indra		
	12 Vishnu		

How and when this classification was made we are not in a position to state, but this list includes

* स होवाच महिमान एवैषामेते त्रयस्त्रिंशत्त्वेव देवा इति
कतमे ते त्रयस्त्रिंशदित्यष्टौ वसव एकादश रुद्रा द्वादश आदित्यास्त
एकत्रिंशदिंद्रश्चैव प्रजापतिश्च त्रयस्त्रिंशा इति ॥ नवमं ब्राह्मणम्

† Anushasana Parva Chap. 150.

all the Vedic deities in one class or another, and the wonder is that Varuna, Indra and Vishnu are included among the Adityas while among the 11 Rudras we find no names which are those of any other distinct deities. All the names of the 11 Rudras are still the names of Shiva. The Vasus include the moon and the fire and the wind.

Out of these gods only Shiva and Vishnu apparently were idolized as they grew into importance towards the close of the epic period. Why these two rose into importance to the exclusion of Indra who appears even in Buddha's time to be still the chief god, it is not easy to explain. But certain it is that Shiva and Vishnu had already by the close of the epic period attained to the position which they have ever since occupied in the Indian godhead. A thousand names were given to each of them and the Sahasranamas of both are to be found in the Mahabharata itself. The pre-eminence of Vishnu is to be seen even in the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. Krishna-worship which grew throughout the epic period identified Vishnu with Krishna and he was ascribed a form accordingly *viz.*, a dark colour and four hands which carried Shankha, Chakra, Gada and Padma. This conception of Vishnu's form is to be found in the Mahabharata in several places and was undoubtedly the form after which his images were made. The pre-eminence of Shiva is perhaps of later date, being noticed in the Shvetashvatara Upanishad for the first time. The form which has been assigned to him is however twofold. In it we see the blending of Aryan and non-Aryan ideas. In the Aryan

form Shiva is a devotee fair in complexion, with matted hair on his head and almost naked. The other form in which he came to be worshipped was apparently borrowed from the non-Aryans. The phallic emblem probably worshipped by the non-Aryans was identified with Shiva and we find him worshipped in this form even in the Mahabharata. There is a strange story given in explanation of this form in the Sauptika Parva of the Mahabharata chap. 17. Whatever its value, there is no doubt that the worship of the phallic emblem was firmly established towards the end of the epic period. Shiva was adored in both these forms *viz.*, a human form which was not an unpleasiug one as also in Linga form and the latter worship was believed to be more efficatious.* We believe that the latter worship must have been of a non-Aryan origin inasmuch as we find no trace of it in the Vedic literature. Vedic Shiva is both a terrible and a beneficent deity assuming all sorts of forms being identified with the terrific as well as the pleasing phenomena of nature.

In the usual strain of the Vedic religion all these different deities were looked upon as the manifestations of the one all pervading eternal God or Para Brahma and both Vishnu and Shiva were from the first identified with the Para-Brahma. The Upanishads give that honour to these two deities only and to none else. Prajapati and Indra remain still secondary manifestations while Vishnu and Shiva are both identified with the highest soul.

* पूजयेद्विग्रहं यस्तु लिङ्गं चापि महात्मनः ।
लिङ्गे पूजयिता चैवं महतीं श्रियमश्नुते ॥ द्रोण ॥ २०२।१४०

In the popular mind, however, there is something opposed in the worship of the two. The antagonism of the two cults of Shiva and Vishnu must have been very old and may have dated from before the end of the epic period. There is no hint of course of this antagonism in the Mahabharata and as we have said elsewhere one of the greatest and noblest aims of Sauti in his recasting and re-editing the Bharata was to bring together and reconcile all orthodox cults. We thus have Shiva and Vishnu equally praised in the Mahabharata and that is the reason why this great epic has become the rallying point for Hinduism as a whole. One may however well discern that Sauti consciously and purposely brings in the praise of Shiva where the reader might incline too much towards Vishnu and often makes Krishna himself the mouth-piece for the praise of the former. So in the Dronaparva when Krishna and Arjuna come unscathed out of the *fire-Astra* thrown by Ashvatthama, the latter was amazed and inquired of Vyasa the reason of it. Vyasa enters on a praise of Shiva and details how Krishna had obtained the boon of freedom from death by any Astra by propitiating Shiva. And in the Dronaparva Vyasa tells Arjuna that he was preceded on that day of hard fight when he killed Jayadratha, by Shiva himself who bore down all his opponents with his Shula. These and other evidently concious attempts are made to bring together the two orthodox sects who had taken their stand round Vishnu and Shiva respectively.

Vishnu as a manifestation was usually identified with the protecting power of God and Shiva with

the destructive, Shiva accordingly comes in in the Mahabharata wherever a terrible destruction of human life is taking place; as when Ashvatthama commenced the slaughter of innocent beings at night. The Indian Trinity Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha, with different functions assigned to them is also clearly indicated in the shloka quoted below.* That trinity was again united in another deity which though not a Vedic deity is a very old Indian deity *viz*: Dattatreya. This benevolent-creative-destructive combined form of the supreme being is twice mentioned in the Mahabharata. In the Vanaparva chapt. 115 we are told that Sahasrarjuna got a miraculous golden Vimana by the favour of Dattatreya.† And in Shantiparva chapter 49 the same story is repeated. Dattatreya is said to be the son of Atri (chapt. 91 Anu.) but the interesting story of his birth is not given in the Mahabharata.

Another non-Vedic deity mentioned in the Mahabharata is Skanda, the comander-in-chief of the forces of Shiva and of the gods generally. The worship of Skanda was in epic days very prevalent in India though in modern times he is not much worshipped. It is impossible to say whether Skanda is an Aryan or non-Aryan deity. He represents and leads all the powers of destruction. The story of

* योसृजद्दक्षिणादङ्गाद् ब्रह्माणं लोकसंभवम् ।
वामपार्श्वात्तथा विष्णुं लोकरक्षार्थमीश्वरम् ॥
युगान्ते चैव संप्राप्ते रुद्रमीशोऽसृजत्प्रभुः ॥ अनु० १४

† दत्तात्रेयप्रसादेन विमानं काञ्चनं तथा ।
ऐश्वर्यं सर्वभूतेषु पृथिव्यां पृथिवीपते ॥ वन० ११५।१२

the birth of Skanda is twice told in the Mahabharata and the first account given in the Vanaparva differs somewhat from the second which appears in the Anu. chap. 84 and 85 and which is nearly the same as the one which Kalidasa has poetically handled in his Kumara-sambhava. Kumara or Skanda is in the former story not the son of Shiva and Parvati but the son of Agni who being enamoured of the wives of the seven Rishis gave up all avocation. Svaha his wife consequently assumed the form of the wife of each Rishi except Arundhati and approached and pleased Agni. Skanda was thus really the son of Agni and Svaha and only indirectly of the six Rishi-Patnis and hence was called six-mothered. He is called the son of Rudra because Agni is identified with Rudra. He was bred up by the Krittikas and hence called Karti-keya. Being selected the commander-in-chief of his army by Indra he defeated and destroyed the Asuras. His immediate followers were the deities of destruction and among them the Matris who devour children before they arrive at the age of sixteen. To propitiate these Matris and Skanda, their leader, became naturally the care and duty of every mother and Skanda-worship naturally grew into importance and popular favour. His names are also collected in the Mahabharata and specially recounted at the request of Yudhisthira. Chapter 32 of the Vanaparva ends with the Phalashruti or the recounting of the merit and fruit of reciting these names. Among the Tithis peculiarly sacred to Skanda were the 5th and the 6th of the bright half as he was anointed commander-in-chief on the 5th

and conquered the enemies of the gods on the 6th. The worship of Skanda appears thus both Aryan and non-Aryan in origin and is properly speaking a worship of demons (or Grahas as they are called), Matris, Kumaris, Pramathas, Parishadas and others with their manifold fanciful forms looked upon as the destroyers of men and children by various diseases.*

Next to Skanda worship may be mentioned the worship of Durga or the goddess of destruction. Shakti or Durga worship is mentioned in the Mahabharata and must have prevailed about the end of the epic period. Sauti whose attempt at bringing together all orthodox worship has been noticed before brings in Durga somewhat irrelevantly at the very time when the great fight between the Pandavas and the Kauravas is to begin and a little before the great Gita is preached. Chapter 23 of the Bhishmaparva contains the Durga Stotra which Arjuna was made by Krishna to recite in order to enable him to destroy his enemies. Durga or Shakti was connected in popular belief with Rudra who is the chief god

* The superstitions of the common people were used for inculcating a moral life. The Pramathas were supposed to seize a man "when he was unclean or when he had disrespected an honourable man" as much as when he slept with his feet on the wrong side of the bed &c. Charms were also prescribed to prevent seizure by ghosts such as having Gorochana or Akshatas in the hand or keeping a cat or a yellow or a black ram &c., (Anu. chap. 131). Demons, ghosts and their tribe grew into still greater power later on and the horrible practices and absurd beliefs of later times are well reflected in the stories given in the Brihat-Katha-Sarit-Sagara, the Mahakala of Ujjain being the centre of such later superstitions.

of destruction though she wields terrible power independently of him. In the Stotra or hymn above mentioned we have a few indications of the mythological exploits of Durga and in it we also see her identified under the usual heinotheistic tendency of the Indo-Aryans with Sarasvati and Shri who are her more humane manifestations.

To take a resume :—while at the beginning of the epic period the religion of the Indo-Aryans was purely Vedic, it was a blend of Aryan and non-Aryan worship towards its close. Vedic prayers and Vedic sacrifices were the only modes of worship at the beginning. In the lapse of the centuries which followed, non-Vedic deities and non-Vedic forms of worship were added. Shiva had now two forms Aryan and non-Aryan. Skanda was added to assuage the fears of mothers and sick men and Durga or Shakti was the goddess who was the special deity of slaughter. Idolatry was also introduced in imitation of the Buddhists and forms were assigned to Vishnu, Shiva, Skanda, and Durga which perhaps they did not possess before. As the Indo-Aryans became mixed in race so also did their religion gradually become mixed. Pure non-Aryan worship was however still abhorred and it is curious to note that among the evil practices which it is said will come into vogue in the degenerate Kali age is the worship of Edukas or fanciful images made of mud on walls* as some aboriginal people must have done even then.

Let us now turn to other objects and methods of

* एडूकान् पूजयिष्यन्ति युगान्ते प्रत्युपस्थिते ॥ वन०

occasional worship. The Shraddha was peculiarly an Aryan institution. The worship of the manes of the ancestors was performed as zealously on the banks of the Tiber as of the Ganges. The Shraddha ceremony has been described in detail in the Mahabharața in several places. The Pitris or the manes were fond of flesh and flesh of several kinds with different degrees of merit was offered in Shraddhas. Brahmins learned in the Vedas alone were to be feasted at the Shraddhas and objectionable classes ofBrahmins have been carefally enumerated.* To feed any ordinary Brahmins was allowable in case of a ceremony which related to the worship of the gods but for Shraddhas Brahmins learned in the Vedas alone were to be selected. This direction helped much the preservation of the Vedas and must on that account alone be praised.

Oblations of cooked rice were offered to the manes along with the food prepared for the Brahmins and it is stated in the Rahasya Dharmas or esoteric doctrines (Anu. chapt. 125) that the first Pinda or oblation should be thrown into water, the second eaten by the performer's wife and the third burnt in fire. This procedure is not now followed nor is it probably generally known.

* The following shlokas are very interesting in this connection showing what Brahmins were considered objectionable for both Daiva and Paitrya ceremonial.

राजपौरुषिके विप्रे घाटिके परिचारिके ।
गोरक्षके वाणिजके तथा कारुकुशीलवे ॥ २४
मित्रध्रुगनधीयाने यश्चस्याद्वृषलीपतिः ।
एतेषु दैवं पैत्र्यं वा न देयं स्यात्कदाच न ॥ २५ ॥ अनु० १२६

Shraddha was usually performed on the Amavasya day as also on several special Tithis and Nakshatras.

It would be improper to enter into other details regarding Shraddhas and we go on to the Aloka-dana and the Balidana which are now almost obsolete. Every householder had to put lamps, give oblations of rice and make presents of flowers daily at several important spots to propitiate gods and demons. Lamps were to be placed in dangerous spots in the hills, in jungles, in temples, and in the crossing of roads every evening and oblations for gods, Yakshas, Rakshasas and others were to be given by householders, made of different materials such as milk and curds for gods, flesh and wine for Yakshas and Rakshasas, fried grain with lotuses for serpents and raw sugar and sesamum for ghosts. The Baliharana which some Brahmins now-a-days perform every day is probably a shortened form of a more elaborate offering of oblations which took place every day in every house in different parts of it and in the streets passing by it. We can well understand from this how Charudatta proceeds to give oblations in the several parts of his house and places lighted lamps in several spots and in the streets. These offerings were daily made and it was considered irreligious to take food without making them.*

To make gifts was always looked upon as a very meritorious act. The merit of gifts of different kinds is enumerated in the Anushasanaparva with great details and gold, cows, sesamum and food are the principal items prescribed for being given

* Chap. 98 Anushasana Parva.

away. The gift of cows was rated very highly. Cows had as we have stated elsewhere become sacred already. To beat a cow, nay even to touch her with the foot was sinful and her urine and dung were sacred and purifying.* The gifts of cows therefore have always been considered very meritorious from ancient times and even the Upanishads speak of gifts of cows made to Brahmins by kings and sacrificers. Tila or sesamum have lost their importance in modern India and are neither much eaten nor much given away. The Mahabharata, it may however be noted, devotes several chapters to the praise of Tila and Tila gifts.

To observe fasts was another item in the religious system of the Indo-Aryans as of many other peoples. How fasts arose it is not our purpose to discuss but fasting as a meritorious action was believed in from the time of the Upanishads which we look upon as contemporary with the beginning of the epic period. Different methods of fasting are described in chapters 105 and 106 of the Anushasanaparva with different degrees of merit and fruit, the general strain of which is however the same in all *viz.*, that the observer of a fast goes to heaven and enjoys the company of Apsaras and Deva-Kanyas,—a thing which seems strange to modern ears and which is perhaps not very common even in the Mahabharata. The fast was to increase by days such as one day's fast, two days' fast, three days' fast and so on in each month throughout the year.† No fast however was to exceed one month at a time. Moreover it is the

* शकृन्मूत्रे निवस त्वं पुण्यमेतद्धि नः शुभे ॥ अनुशा ८२।२४

† Chapter 106 of the Anushasana parva.

Brahmins and the Kshatriyas who were to perform such long fasts and not Vaishyas and Shudras.* This is a provision in consonance with the general spirit of the religion of the Indo-Aryans who did not allow the Shudras to perform any religious austerities. And it is perhaps this provision which led to the growing popularity of Jainism towards the end of the epic period. Jainism, it must be remembered, borrowed two planks from the then orthodox religion of India *viz.*, fasting and abstention from slaughter and Jainism not only increased the highest limit prescribed for fasting but allowed all its adherents whether Vaishyas or Shudras to fast and thus secured the favour of the lower classes.

The Tithis specially mentioned as fit for fasting are Panchami, Shashthi, Ashtami and Chaturdashi of the dark half (Anu. chapt. 106, 13.) It is strange that these Tithis are not now usually observed as fasts. The Ekadashi fast is not mentioned in the Mahabharata nor the Dvadashi or Pradosha fast both of which are now so common and which belong to the worship of Vishnu and Shiva respectively. The absence of their mention may perhaps be explained on the supposition that the Tithis mentioned do not exhaust the list. It is however a remarkable thing that in chapt. 109 of the same Parva we find that a *Vrata* is mentioned wherein the worshipper is to worship Vishnu on the 12th or Dvadashi of each month under different names which are worth while quoting here. The names, of course beginning with the month of Margashir-

* वैश्याः शूद्राश्च यन्मोहादुपवासं प्रचक्रिरे ।
त्रिरात्रं वा द्विरात्रं वा तयोर्व्युष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥ अनु० १०६।१२

sha, are 1 Keshava 2 Narayana 3 Madhava 4 Govinda 5 Vishnu 6 Madhusudana 7 Trivikrama 8 Vamana 9 Shridhara 10 Hrishikesha 11 Padmanabha and 12 Damodara. These names are now repeated in this order in the beginning of Sandhya every day with twelve more which go to form the well known 24 names of Vishnu. Lastly we may remark before passing on that fasts are measured in the Mahabharata by the number of meals which one does not take, two meals being allowed for one day. Thus the fast called Ekabhakta means abstaining from one meal. So again *shasthe bhakte* means abstaining from fives meals and taking the 6th meal *i. e.* fasting for two days and a half.

Allied with fasting was the growing belief in Ahimsa or abstention from all destruction of animal life. The belief in Ahimsa was one of the chief items of the popular creed at the end of the epic period. How it was introduced and how it gradually gained strength we have discussed in another place. There is a strange contrast in the different episodes given in the Mahabharata on this subject. While the discourse of Dharmavyadha actually supports the killing of animals and the eating of flesh, we find in the conversation between Tuladhara and Jajali in chapt. 264 and 265 of the Shantiparva both these stigmatised as irreligious and the Vedic texts which sanction animal sacrifices and animal food treated as spurious texts put in by voracious people. In the Karnaparva again we find Krishna laying stress on Ahimsa as the highest religion.* It is sometimes

* प्राणिनामवधस्तात सर्वज्यायान्मतो मम ।
अनृतं वा वदेद्वाचं न च हिंस्यात्कथंचन ॥

urged that Ahimsa was first preached by Buddhism and Jainism but Ahimsa was long established before the rise of these religions and even Herodotus refers to the Ahimsa doctrine held by some Indians and Ahimsa is recommended even in the Upanishads. It speaks volumes in favour of the strength of the humane sentiment of the Indo-Aryans that they gave up, thousands of years ago, their most palatable food in obedience to this feeling of compassion for animal life.*

The four Ashramas and the four castes have distinguished the Indo-Aryan religion almost from times immemorial. We have noticed the institution of caste in a separate chapter and will notice here the institution of Ashrama. The Ashrama is a peculiarly Indian idea. A man's life is divided into four parts and each part is assigned its chief duty In the first part a man ought to learn and to live celibate. In the second he should marry and working for his livelihood make due provision for his progeny. In the third he should gradually retire from the concerns of this world and accustom himself to an ascetic mode of life and in the fourth he should become an ascetic entirely and devote himself to the contemplation of God. The rules for the observance of these four Ashramas and their duties are elaborately laid down in the Mahabharata, in

* This revulsion of feeling is plainly indicated in the Vichaknu legend given in chap. 266 of the Shantiparva. Seeing the trunk of an ox just killed in sacrifice, Vichakhnu's feelings were moved and he ordained "that sacrifices should be performed without slaughter. Every religious act, Manu has ordained, should be based on Ahimsa."

the Shanti and Anushasana Parvas which form, as it were, a separate treatise on the religion of epic India. There is not the least doubt that at the beginning of the epic period the Ashrama was a living institution like the laws of Lycurgus in Sparta; but by and by the Ashrama became more and more theoretical than real. The education of youths which was compulsory on all the Aryan castes became by and by neglected and ignorance and illiteracy increased. There was a great departure from the principles of the Ashrama institution in another direction also. The ascetic tedencies of the Indo-Aryans have already been noticed elsewhere. But the wise Rishis of the Upanishad period had prudently ordained that it was not every man who could be an asectic. Frail humanity required to be chastened and softened before a man could aspire to be an ascetic. The renunciation of the world required as much a preparation and a regular course of training for it as the proper and successful enjoyment of life required previous education. The Ashramas were therefore very wisely arranged the first two being related to the enjoyment of this world and the last two to the renunciation of it. The first of the former couple was a preparation for the second. A youth having learnt all the Vedas or as much of them as was necessary and having learnt such other subjects of study as suited his future life entered on the Grihasthashrama which aspired at the moderate and moral enjoyment of all that this world has to offer. When his passions were satisfied he was asked to turn towards a spiritual life. This third stage of his life, the Vanaprastha, was the pre-

paration for the Sanyasa. The Sanyasa Ashrama was thus the crowning stage of a man's life after he had passed though the three previous stages and a man who reaches Sansyasa in this way becomes really an adorable being. The position of a Sanyasi was however charming to many and they sought to be Sanyasis at any period of their life and without going through its necessary preparation. Buddhism caught up this leaning towards asceticism and made the Sanyasa extremely easy for everybody. It disregarded all the safeguards which the orthodox Shastras had laid down for the Sanyasa and the result was that Buddhism brought about its own downfall by the illiteracy and the immorality of its monks.

The ideas of heaven and hell are probably the oldest in the world and they are so even in India. The Vedas speak constantly of Svarga or heaven though they speak very little or not at all of Niraya or hell. The ideas of heaven and hell as they existed during epic days are well depicted in the Svargarohanaparva where Vyasa like all immortal poets gives us a glimpse of these invisible worlds through the agency of an actor who goes there bodily. Yuddhisthira who had lived the most exemplary life in this world went to heaven in human form and saw everything with his own eyes. On entering heaven accompanied by the messengers of the gods the first on whom his eyes fell was Duryodhana seated on a great seat and blazing like a blessed being. He was amazed. The man who had sacrificed lakhs of human lives for the sake of his own gain, the man who had treated Draupadi so basely in presence of her hus-

bands and elders! How did he obtain that blessed seat? There was no justice in heaven he thought. His brothers were to be seen nowhere. He entreated his friends to take him where his brothers were and not to take him to a place where he would have to associate with that avaricious and sinful man. He was accordingly taken through a passage pitch dark and foul-smelling, to a river with boiling water and a forest of trees whose leaves were as sharp as sword-blades. He saw there hundreds of sinful men being punished according to their dues in different modes of infernal punishment. He felt excruciating pain himself at even the sight and unable to behold the scene turned back. The unhappy creatures cried with one voice "Stay Yuddhisthira stay we feel a respite in our suffering by your gracious presence." "Who are you" he asked; "we are" replied they "Nakula, Sahadeva Draupadi, Karna, Drishtadyumna and so on."

That was still more exasperating; what grievous sin had these committed? The whole thing was painfully inexplicable. At that juncture the gods came to the place and the whole scene, the darkness, the Vaitarni river, the instruments of torture, every thing disappeared. "Come, oh blessed king" said Indra to him "this is enough; you need not be puzzled. Every man has his heap of merit and of sin. He who has less merit enjoys the fruit of it first and then goes to bell. He who has less sin is first punished for his sin and then goes to heaven. You have seen the tortures of hell. That punishment is sufficient for the deception you practised when Drona was killed. Come, all your brothers and

wife and relatives have also been punished and you will see them happy and resplendent in heaven. Bathe in this heavenly Ganges and you will be bereft of your earthly coil." We have quoted the above description at some length as it gives the Indo-Aryan idea of heaven and hell in a very charming story and has besides a strong moral teaching of its own.

Heaven* and hell were not however the ever-lasting abode of all souls. The Indo-Aryans also beleived in their transmigration. Perhaps both these ideas had different origins and were subsequently fitted together. When the soul with its Lingadeha or astral body which always accompanies it had enjoyed in heaven or atoned in hell according to its merit or sin, it came back to this world and was born in some form or another according to its actions. We reserve to the next chapter the details of the theory of transmigration of souls, of which India is admitted to be the birth-place. Pythagoras carried it to the west, the followers of Buddha carried it to the east, to China and Japan. Every

* There were many blessed places included in the word heaven and we have a description of these several Lokas as they are called in the Sabhaparva and also in the Udyogaparva. It does not however appear that there were different hells; it is a common mistake to suppose that Patala, Rasatala and other like places were places for the punishment of souls. The Rasatala for instance which was the 7th Tala of this earth was the happiest place in the world to live where the Surabhi cow lived, constantly giving forth heavenly milk. The following shloka in praise of this Loka is cited in the Puranas.

न नागलोके न स्वर्गे न विमाने त्रिविष्टपे ।
परिवासः सुखस्तादृग्रसातलतले यथा ॥

philosophy and religion which had its birth in India started with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its transmigration under the law of Karma.

It is worthy of remark that the early law-givers turned this doctrine to the support of morality. It is preached in the Mahabharata as well as in the Smiritis that those men who committed particular sins in this life were born in particular species of animals. In chapter 3 of the Anushasanaparva the several sins are detailed with their several consequences. For instance, a man who kills a woman first suffers punishment in the region of Yama for twenty lives, is then born as a worm in which life he lives for twenty years and then is born as man. A man who steals food becomes a fly and having suffered the evils of living in swarms of flies for many months is then born again as man. Beliefs like these had a great hold on the minds of the masses and were vividly instrumental in deterring men from committing immoral and sinsful acts.

In India as elsewhere religion was never separated from the practice of a highly moral and cleanly life. The moral life was essential to the religious in every aspect. Even the ascetic and the Yogi must live a moral life if he wished to succeed in his spiritual aspirations. Good conduct is preached throughout the Mahabharata with a force which can never be mistaken. The rules of conduct or Achara are well summed up in chapter 104 of the Anushasanaparva which is worthy of study, though we refrain from quoting it at length. We shall however close this chapter by quoting some of the Shapathas or oaths which are to be found

in the Mahabaharata and which show in an interesting manner what things were considered specially sinful or irreligious in epic days. In Anu. chapter 93 where the seven Rishis accuse one another with the theft of lotus stalks collected for food, each swears his innocence as follows. Atri swore. "He touches the cow with his foot or makes water facing the sun or recites the Vedas on offdays who steals the lotus stalks." Vasishtha declared "He keeps dogs or becomes a Sanyasi and then leads a pleasure seeking life who steals the lotus stalks or he kills the man who has sought refuge with him or takes money for his daughter, or earns money from the cultivators (?)" Kashyapa swore "He speaks any thing anywhere or misappropriates a thing deposited with him or bears false witness who &c; or eats the flesh of animals not slaughtered for sacrifice or gives alms to unworthy persons, or has sexual intercourse by day." Bharadvaja said. "May he be cruel to women, to cows and to his family members and ill-treat Brahmins, who steals &c. or may he recite Riks and Yajus after disregarding the preceptor or offer oblations in non-sacrificial fire." Jamadagni said "May he pass fœces in water or have sexual intercourse with his wife beyond the prescribed period after the monthly course; or may he live by the gains of his wife or be a mutual guest of friends who steals &c." Gautama swore "May he give up the sacrificial fire or sell Soma or live with a Shudra wife in a village which has one well only, who steals &c." Vishvamitra said "May his parents and servants be fed by another, or may he be an unclean Brahmin or a man puffed up with his riches or a

jealous agriculturist, or a servant fed on yearly grant of grain or the preceptor of a king or the sacrificer of one who is not fit to sacrifice, who steals &c." Arundhati said "May she constantly insult her mother-in-law, or be angry with her husband, or eat sweet preparations alone who steals &c., or may she eat Saktus at home at night or be unfit for cohabitation or the mother of a coward." The maid servant swore "May she tell lies or quarrel with her relatives, or accept price for her daughter who steals &c., or having cooked food eat it herself or die by some bad act." The cowherd said "May he be born again as a slave or be without children and without wealth; or without worship of the gods. who steals." There are Shapathas like these in several places in the Mahabharata and they present an interesting picture of the social and religious life of the Indians in epic days.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Mahabharata contains many episodes and discussions which throw a flood of light on the devel opment of philosophical speculation in ancient India. Indeed the Mahabharata specially engrosses the attention of the reader by the charm and variety of its philosophical disquisitions. These disquisitions are scattered all over the vast epic. The Bhagavadgita stands at the head of such philosophical episodes and is deservedly ranked next in authority to the Upanishads. The Anugita, the major portion of the Moksha-dharma section of the Shantiparva, the Sanatsujatiya in the Udyogaparva, the Dharmavyadha discourse in the Vanaparva and many other smaller episodes and dialogues form a voluminous and at the same time interesting material for the study of ancient Indian Philosophy. The Ramayana, as we have elsewhere remarked, is devoid of philosophical interest containing as it does only one philosophical discourse which throws some light on the state of the orthodox feeling towards Jainism and Buddhism about the beginning of the Christian era.

Philosophical speculation in India, as is well known, is as old as the Rigveda which contains in some of its hymns the boldest and the most profound attempts of the human mind to pry into the hidden secrets of nature. The Upanishads, the latest portions of the Vedas, contain very eloquent expositions of those theories about man and nature which

gradually assumed the name of the Vedant philosophy. These orthodox speculations were probably contemporaneous with other speculations of a more radical nature, speculations which went the length of denying the very existence of God. The Upanishads contain hints of such systems of belief. The names of Kapila and Charvaka are not however to be found in the ten oldest Upanishads of unquestioned authority. It is therefore difficult* to determine whether these subsequently well known thinkers lived in the Vedic or the epic period.

The epic period, however, clearly opens with the grand well-reasoned philosophy of the Upanishads and the unorthodox doctrines which are now known as those of Kapila and Charvaka. It is not unnatural to expect that certain ideas must have been common to all these systems of thought. The five senses and the five elements are probably as old as the crudest attempts at philosophical speculation in India; these form as it were the axioms of all Indian philosophies. It may be noted that the Indo-Aryans count the elements as five while their equally philosophical brethren of the west, the Greeks, were satisfied with four. To quote a German author,* "The four elements which compose and preserve the world (now surviving merely in folklore and poetry) have a long and glorious history. Aristotle embodied them in his theory of nature and his authority impressed on them the stamp of unimpeachability and sped them over the stream of centuries." The theory of four elements composing the universe suggests itself to every keen observer of

* Gomperz (Greek Thinkers page 238).

nature by the three obvious states of matter *viz*., the solid, the liquid and the gaseous while the fourth element is suggested by the phenomenon so dazzling to the senses which accompanies combustion. Earth, water, air and fire were thus the four most obvious elements into which the whole material world was resolvable. How did the Indo-Aryans come to add the fifth element Akasha or ether which the greatest scientists of modern times have come to believe in only in recent times?

It is probable that the Indo-Aryans arrived at this element in their desire to reduce the whole world to one element and that one eventually to God himself. It is a matter of observation that solids resolve themselves into fluids, fluids by the aid of fire into air or the gaseous state and air must resolve itself into a still finer element the Akasha which fills all space and which, if not derived from, is itself the primary cause of the universe. The Indo-Aryan Vedantic philosophers strictly speaking therefore believe in one element only *viz*., the Akasha or more correctly still the Para-Brahma itself. The Upanishads clearly state that from God was created the Akasha, from Akasha air, from air fire, from fire water and from water the earth. They also believe that at the time of dissolution these elements will dissolve in the above order reversed.

The five senses of man may also have suggested the existence of a fifth element. The senses of hearing, touch, sight, taste and smell have according to Indian philosophy corresponding qualities in objects which act on these senses and the number of elements may have been so conceived as to answer to

this number of senses and qualities. It is believed that Akasha the last element has only one quality *viz.*, Shabda while each succeeding element has its own special quality together with all the qualities of the preceding elements, the earth, the last and the fifth element, for instance, being possessed of all the five qualities of Shabda, Sparsha, Rupa, Rasa and Gandha.* This theory of five elements and their qualities increasing in number as we ascend to the more complex element is the a, b, c, of every Indian philosophy and no philosophical disquisition in the Mahabharata omits to enumerate the five elements and their qualities, however tedious the repetition may be.†

The resoultion of the material world into five elements with their distinctive qualities was a comparatively easy and obvious first step in philosophy and all ancient philosophers whether eastern or western are agreed on this point. But on the next there was a great divergence. The question was whether the five elements, their five qualities and the five senses were sufficient to explain all the phenomena of this world, whether they sufficed to explain life, consciousness, will and reason. In fine is there a spiritual existence distinct from the material ? That is a question which has eternally vexed and divided the thinkers of all ages and of all countries. The Nastikas maintained that the psychical phenomena in the world could be explained on the supposition that life is but an attribute of a

* This is different from Nyaya which holds that Shabda resides in Akasha alone.

† It may be remarked here that the Charvakas and others who did not believe in God believed in four elements only and denied the existence of Akasha.

particulr kind of combination of the elements. In the Panchashikha episode given in the Shantiparva chap. 218 we have an interesting dialogue between Janaka who is here called by the additional epithet of Janadeva, probably to distinguish him from the Janaka of the Upanishads, and Panchashikha a highly gifted teacher of philosophy who having defeated all the professors of the different shades of opinions in Janaka's court had compelled him to be his pupil and follower. This Panchashikha is himself said to be a follower of Kapila and we actually find from other sources that the name of Panchashikha occurs among the teachers of the Sankhya philosophy. In this dialogue Panchashikha summarises the arguments of the Nastikas and refutes them as follows. "The atheists believe that there is no soul distinct from the body and argue that the seed of a bunyan tree small as it is possesses the power to generate the future big tree, or that from the grass eaten by cows ghee is afterwards produced, or that fragrance results from a particular combination of substances, or that magnet has the power of attracting iron or that the sunstone creates fire." The meaning probably is that as several inanimate things under particular processes or circumstances have a power of generating action so the particular combination of elements in the animate body creates life. "But" goes on Panchashikha, "the existence of the soul or a separate generator of action is evidenced by the fact that action ceases after death (that is to say, while the combination of elements is the same after death as before there is no voluntary action after death) and by the fact that the same body

putrifies after death." Lastly argues Panchashikha inanimate things might generate inanimate action but there can be no connection between material and immaterial things.*

The believers in a soul distinct from the body have usually used some such arguments to substantiate their position. Plotinus, the well-known Neoplatonist, who affirms that soul is not body nor the harmony or function of a body, says, "The four elements cannot generate life for if no material substance possesses life no aggregate of such substances can generate it. Again the unintelligent cannot beget the intelligent. There must be some Giver of life outside and above all material nature. For there could not be such a thing as a body if there were no soul power." The Platonists like most Indian philosophers believed in the existence of soul but there were many Greek thinkers who did not. In fact materialists and atheists have existed in every age and in every country, and India had its Nastikas even from the days of the Rigveda.

Having proved the existence of soul, the orthodox philosophers of India went on to consider its nature

* नान्यो जीवःशरीरस्य नास्तिकानां मते स्थितः ।
रेतो वटकणीकायां घृतपाकाधिवासनम् ॥
जातिःस्मृतिरयस्कान्तःसूर्यकान्ताम्बुभक्षणम्
प्रेत्यभूतात्ययश्चैव देवताद्युपयाचनम् ।
मृते कर्मनिवृत्तिश्च प्रमाणमिति निश्चयः ॥
अमूर्तस्य हि मूर्तेन सामान्यं नोपपद्यते ॥

In the translation given we have tried to give some of the most salient arguments as they clearly appear from these shlokas omitting those which are somewhat involved or hazy. Even the commentator is at a loss as the reader who takes the trouble to consult the commentary here will be able to judge.

and again there was a divergence of opinion among the ancient thinkers of India. That it was immortal they all thought and believed. The Bhagavadgita opens with this high doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the same is preached in almost every other philosophical discourse to be found in the Mahabharata. In fact the arguments which prove the existence of the soul as distinct from the body go to prove that it cannot die with the body. And if matter is indestructible as it is usually assumed to be, it follows by analogy that soul or spirit is also immortal. But on other points there was a great difference of views. The Purusha of the Sankhyas or the followers of Kapila was an indefinable immovable entity which sat still, the observer of the Prakriti which was the cause of all action and change, of all sensation and thought. Prakriti, although inert by itself, moved and worked and felt and thought in the presence of Purusha or soul as iron is moved by the presence of magnet. Gautama and Kanada, the propounders of the atomic theory in India believed in the existence of innumerable Jivatmas, or animal souls which were immortal and which were the subjects of transmigration from body to body. We may here state that Leucippus and Democritus, the atomist philosophers of Greece, similarly believed in the existence of soul atoms distinct from atoms of inanimate matter which entered and left the body. The Buddhist conception of the soul was again so peculiar that they in fact almost denied its existence. They looked upon the soul as a bundle of certain mental attributes 18 in number and this congregation it was that felt and thought and moved from body to body.

Kapila and Kanada, Gautama and Buddha flourished in the epic period and preached their doctrines in the order we have named them. We do not however find their doctrines refuted by name in any of the philosophical discussions in the Mahabharata. In fact the Mahabharata keeps itself aloof from all controversies and merely tries to propound the orthodox doctrines. In the Panchashikha episode noted above however, after the refutation of the Nastikas there is clearly an attempt to refute the opinion of the Bauddhas; at least the commentator thinks so and says that there is a reference to the Buddhists in the shloka "some say that the cause of rebirth is Avidya, Karma Cheshta, &c.*" It is indeed difficult to unravel the argument that is here used to refute the Bauddhas who represent the soul as merely a combination of eighteen immaterial attributes Avidya, Buddhi and others. But there is no doubt that a great attempt is made here to dislodge a formidable rival as further on the distracted condition of the people to whom diverse doctrines are preached is clearly referred to in another shloka.† The Mahabharata is evidently fighting with a rising and powerful creed. It may not be out of place to add that the Vedanta-sutras of Badarayana which are later than the Mahabharata contain a well reasoned and systematic refutation of all these opposing doctrines *viz*, the Kâpila, the Kânâda, the Bauddha and the Jain and thus probably belong to the time

* अविद्याकर्मचेष्टानां केचिदाहुः पुनर्भवे ।
कारणं लोभमोहौ तु दोषाणां च निषेवणम् ॥

† एवमर्थैरनर्थैश्च दुःखिताः सर्व जन्तवः ।
आगमैरपकृष्यन्ते हस्तिपैर्हस्तिनो यथा ॥

when Hinduism had reasserted itself. The present Ramayana as we have shown in our book "The Riddle of the Ramayana" belongs to a still later time when Buddhism had been vanquished and the orthodox religion had established itself on the throne of India under the rule of Pushpamitra and Agnimitra. The only philosophical passage which is found in the Ramayana does not therefore attempt to refute the doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism by argument but refutes them by a downright condemnation. When Rama refused to return to Ayodha stating that he had promised his deceased father to remain in exile for 14 years, Jabali in the strain of Jains and Buddhists argued; "The relations of father and son, husband and wife are all temporary and accidental and none can be bound to a deceased man. The soul does not exist after death nor can it eat any thing. The Shraddhas that are performed are invented merely for the sake of promoting gifts; for if food could reach the soul of a dead man in another body why can it not reach a living man who is away only on a journey?" Rama in reply does not enter into the controversy as to how Shraddhas are efficacious but takes his stand on the eternal principles of morality extolling truth to the heavens; and winds up his reply by the well-known shloka "The Buddha is as a thief; the Tathagata is a Nastika or atheist. A wise man who can help it should therefore not be inclined towards that Nastika"*

* यथा हि चोरः स तथा हि बुद्धः ।
तथागतं नास्तिकमत्र विद्धि ॥
तस्माद्धि यः शक्यतमःप्रजानाम् ।
स नास्तिके नाभिमुखो बुधःस्यात् ॥ अयो० । १०८ । १०९

It is not within the domain of our purpose to explain the doctrine of the soul as it was believed in by the Bauddhas, the Kánâdas or the Kâpilas, much less to refute them. It is sufficient to remark that the orthodox idea of the soul differed from their doctrines in important particulars and for the chief reason *viz.*, that the orthodox idea fitted in with the idea of a Supreme Soul or God. The doctrine of God is one of the highest and the noblest in human belief but philosophically speaking it has always been the stumbling block of most thinkers. The idea of a Supreme Being who is the creator and the ruler of this universe is one which may be natural and almost instinctive in man but it is extremely difficult to reconcile it with reason. Most of the Indian philosophies are consequently so to speak godless, that is to say, they either do not believe in God or else do not refer to him all. Buddha observed a discreet silence on the subject. Kapila's Purusha was very probably dissociated with the conception of a supreme creator. The very first doubt that naturally arises on this question is; how could God create matter and soul both of which are imperishable? If both these things are imperishable they must be looked upon as uncreated. "How could something come out of nothing" asks the Chhandogya Upanishad; there must therefore have been something from all beginning out of which this material world has been fashioned. The idea of creation reduces therefore to the idea of fashioning what already exists and not of creating something entirely new and God can only be a creator in the sense that a carpenter fashions a box out of wood that is

already in existence. God and matter therefore must be looked upon as two entities independent of each other, a position inconsistent with the proper concepton of God. "This position" observers a great scholar "was the fundamental difficulty of Platonism which after all did not succeed in attaining that unity towards which all philosophy aspires. It ensues in a dualism as matter is distinguished from God and therefore limits God both physically and morally."* The idea which the orthodox Indo-Aryans conceived of creation was one of the grandest stretches of the human imagination. According to them God created the universe from himself in the same manner as a spider creates a cobweb from his own body and the univere resolves back into the Supreme Being again at the time of destruction. "The Universe comes of Him, lives in Him and returns to Him," that is the usual expression used in the Upanishads and the Mahabharata. The order of emanation and dissolution has already been stated. From the Akshara or the indestructible, says Devala in reply to Narada in chapter 275 Shantiparva, emanates Akasha or ether, from ether air and so on till we come to the animal creation and man. Ether, air, fire, water, earth, vegetables, food and consciousness, this is the order of the evolution of the world as sketched out in the Taittiriya Upanishad.† Who knows that science itself

* Chief Greek Philosophies, Neoplatonism, by Bigg page 197.

† A different order of creation is given in the Bhrigu Bharadvaja dialogue chapt. 183 Shantiparva. "At first there was Akasha or ether without motion, without light. Water was born in it as if out of one blackness came another blackness. From the volume of water arose air. The air coming out of water in the

may one day establish this theory which the Indo-Aryans arrived at by the aid of mere imagination.

The different stages in the creation or rather the evolution of the universe were first laid down and numbered by the Sankhyas who have come to bear that name on that account. It is strange that notwithstanding the apparent atheism of the Sankhyas their doctrines have always been noticed with respect and approval in the Mahabharata. The philosophy was perhaps systematised after the Mahabharata was last recast. But Sankhya and Yoga are constantly mentioned in the Mahabharata from the Bhagavadgita downwards. Though the words are sometimes, nay almost always, interpreted as Jnyana and Karma, yet they are never dissociated from the philosophies which bore these names. In fact the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies have been assimilated with the orthodox doctrines by a few changes here and there and by the adoption of their views where not opposed to the orthodox philosophy. The chief plank in the Sankhya philosophy was the enumeration of the 25 Tattvas or elements which form the 25 stages in the creation of the world. These twenty-five Tattvas are referred to and enumerated in very many places in the Mahabharata. We have a dialogue between Janaka here called Karala to distinguish him from the other Janakas and Vasishtha on this point and the Sankhya Darshana, as it is distinctly called here, is explained

Akasha made a noise. It is therefore that wind blows unceasingly making noise over the ocean. From the concussion of wind witb water was born fire which became thick by the fanning of the wind. From the perspiration of Akasha brought about by fire was born earth which produced the vegetable and animal world."

to Janaka by Vasishtha (chaps. 303 to 308 of the Shantiparva). The twenty five Tattvas are Prakriti, Mahat, Ahankara, the five finer elements : these 8 are the Prakritis or original Tattvas and the following 16 are the derived Tattvas *viz.*, the five grosser elements, the five senses of intelligence, the five senses of action and lastly mind.* These make the 24 elements which exist in every animal being whether it is a god, a man, a beast or a worm. The 25th Tattva is the Purusha or soul. These make up the whole creation and the enumeration is so charmingly complete that it has never heen denied or questioned by orthodox philosophy and has been reconciled with its own ideas by a few identifications. Thus Mahat or the Mahan of Yoga is looked upon as Brahma or Virinchi or Hiranyagarbha of the Puranas.† The 25th Tattva called the Purusha by the Sankhyas again is the Akshara or the imperishable Atma of the Vedantis and Vishnu or Shiva of the Puranas.

It seems probable that these 25 Tattvas were not settled all at once but only gradually. In the Bhishmastava Shantiparva we have an interesting

* अव्यक्तमाहुःप्रकृतिं परां प्रकृतिवादिनः ।
तस्मान्महत् समुत्पन्नं द्वितीयं राजसत्तम ॥
अहंकारस्तु महतस्तृतीयमिति नःश्रुतम् ॥
पञ्चभूतान्यहंकारादाहुःसांख्यात्मदर्शिनः ॥
एताःप्रकृतयश्चाष्टौ विकाराश्चापि षोडश ।
पञ्च चैव विशेषा वै तथा पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि च ॥ शां० ३०३

The commentator explains the last line (a riddle line) as follows:—

ते च एकादशेन्द्रियाणि स्थूलभूतानि च । वियदादयो विशेषसंज्ञाः । पञ्चयन्ति व्यक्तीकुर्वन्ति इति पञ्च तानि इन्द्रियाणि इति कर्मधारयः ॥

† महानिति च योगेषु विरिंचिरिति चाप्यजः ।
सांख्ये च पठ्यते योगे नामभिर्बहुधात्मकः ॥ शांति० अ० ३०३।१८

shloka summing up the tenets of the Sankhyas and we find therein that Atma or Purusha was then still the 17th.* "I salute him the embodiment of Sankhya whom Sankhyas consider as the 17th, surrounded by the 16 qualities and who is the threefold Atma contained within itself." The 16 Gunas are explained by the commentator to be the eleven Indriyas including mind and the five elements. The number sixteen subsequently rose to 24† by the addition of Ahankara Mahat and Avyakta at one end and the five qualities at the other. Purusha is now the 25th instead of the 17th and when the Sankhya ideas were adopted by the orthodox philosophers they tried to correct the godless nature of the Sankhhya philosophy by the addition of even a 26th principle, still higher than Purusha, the Para-Brahma, unconcerned and immovable, without the threefold distinction of the thinker, the thought and the thinking.‡

* यं त्रिधात्मानमात्मस्थं वृत्तं षोडषभिर्गुणैः ।
प्राहुः सप्तदशं सांख्यास्तस्मै सांख्यात्मने नमः ॥

† Even these 24 principles are sometimes differently enumerated in the Mahabharata itself. In the Dharma-Vyadha discourse in the Vanaparva we have

महाभूतानि खं वायुरग्निरापस्ता च भूः ।
शब्दः स्पर्शश्च रूपं च रसो गन्धश्च तद्गुणाः ॥
षष्ठस्तु चेतना नाम मंन इत्यभिधीयते ।
सप्तमी तु भवेद्बुद्धिरहङ्कारस्ततः परम् ॥
इन्द्रियाणि च पञ्चात्मा रजःसत्वं तमस्तथा ॥
इत्येष सप्तदशको राशिरव्यक्तसंज्ञकः ।
सर्वैरिहेन्द्रियार्थैस्तु व्यक्ताव्यक्तैः सुसंवृतैः ।
चतुर्विंशक इत्येष व्यक्ताव्यक्तमयो गुणः ॥

‡ यदा स केवलीभूतः षड्विंशमनुपश्यति ।
तदा स सर्वविद् विद्वान् न पुनर्जन्म विन्दते ॥ शां० ३१९-८

We have thus far reached at this point *viz.*, from the unchangeable Brahma or from Prakriti, according as we take the orthodox or Kapila philosophy emanated this diverse universe. But the question "which has always vexed philosophy" still remains; how from the absolutely One any thing at all came into existence? Why did it not remain by itself? That is a question extremely puzzling as well to those who believe in an intelligent creator as to those who do not. The Neoplatonists explained; "Though He abides, there is a shining round about Him like the bright light of the sun which ever runs round and round about it though the sun abides. All things as long as they abide give forth necessarily an essence which flows outwards and envelops them. In short all things as soon as they are perfect, beget." In one form or another the same idea runs through the explanation offered by other philosophers. The atomists of Greece, Leucippus and Democritus, believed motion to be "an attribute of atoms and that this motion was original, eternal and without beginning." In their opinion the world was always being created and destroyed by the inherent and incessant motion of atoms and therefore the question why the creation began did not arise with them. The orthodox philosophers of India who believed in God on the other hand usually began the account of creation thus "Brahma thought 'let me be many; let me create.'"* It was a kind of an exercise of the will, a wish of God. That explanation is adopted by Vedantic philosophy and is embodied by Badarayana in the well-known Sutra लोकवत्तु लीलाकैवल्यम्, "It was a

* स ऐक्षत बहुस्यां प्रजायेति.

sport of God much in the same way as people in this world sported."

This explanation also is not quite satisfactory. Of course the wish of God is the wish of the all-wise and all-merciful and the word Lila as applied to God is quite different from the same word as applied to a human being though the Sutra of Badarayana takes for illustration the Lila of a human being. Usually creation and dissolution are believed to take place at regular succession and after immensely long periods called Kalpas. In the Bhagavadgita the creation and dissloution of the world are explained in a beautiful metaphor suggesting a resemblance to the modern theory of evolution. After explaining that the day and night of the creator was each a Kalpa it goes on; "From the undifferentiated, the differentiated evolves as the world slowly emerges from the darkness of the night at the approach of day and the differentiated dissolves back into the undifferentiated as the world slowly disappears into darkness at night-fall." The logical Shankara goes beyond this and nullifies the Sutra of Badarayana by observing that the Sutra is based on the supposition that the world is real but as a matter of fact the real absolute One remains absolute and unchangeable, and the perception of the world in the immutable Brahma is merely an illusion. In the Sanatsujatiya dialogue in the Udyogaparva there is a direct question on this interesting point.* "Who impells the unborn primeval, if it is He who becomes all this universe in

* कोसौ नियुंक्ते तमजं पुराणं स चेदिदं सर्वमनुक्रमेण ।
किं वास्य कार्यमथवा सुखं च तन्मे विद्वान् ब्रूहि सर्वं यथावत् ॥ ४९

turn, and what is His object or what pleasure does He derive? Tell me all this Oh learned sage." The answer of the sage Sanatsujata is as may be expected somewhat enigmatical* but the commentator explains it on this very theory of Shankara *viz.*, that as a matter of fact the universe is all an illusion and the question therefore fails of itself.

The Sankhyas offered an entirely different explanation. They conceived Prakriti as characterised by three qualities called Sattva, Rajas and Tamas or goodness, passion and evil. The three qualities lie in Prakriti equally balanced and the world remains unborn. As soon as there is a disturbance in the equilibrium there is the beginning of creation. The vexed question evidently still remains unsolved, for what is it that causes this disturbance in the equilibrium of the qualities? In fact we are no whit better for this explanation and it has not been adopted in the orthodox philosophy. But the three qualities of Prakriti or matter have become the corner-stone of all subsequent philosophical speculation in India.

* सनत्सुजातः—दोषो महानत्र विभेदयोगे ह्यनादियोगेन भवन्ति नित्याः ।
तथास्य नाधिक्यमपैति किंचिदनादियोगेन भवन्ति पुंसः ॥ ५९
य एतद्वा भगवान् स नित्यो विकारयोगेन करोति विश्वम् ।
तथा च तच्छक्तिरिति स्म मन्यते तथार्थवेदे च भवन्ति वेदाः ॥ ५२

These shlokas may be translated in the words of Telang as follows; "There is great danger in attributing distinctions. The everlasting exist by connection with the beginningless: so that His greatness is not lost at all and beings exist by connection with the beginningless. That which is the real, the Supreme Being, is eternal. He creates the Universe by means of changes: for such is his power held to be; and for this connection of things. the Vedas are the authority."

Most probably the theory of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas had no existence in the time of the early Vedantic Rishis and these words are not found in the ten oldest Upanishads. Shvetashvatara Upanishad which is clearly of later origin mentions not only the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies but describes Brahma for the first time as त्रिगुणातीत or above the three primary qualities of matter. The philosophical discussions in the Mahabharata disclose that these three qualities had irrevocably become a part and parcel of orthodox philosophy in India by the end of the epic period.

The Sankhyas were led very probably to the conception of these qualities by the fact that the manifold phenomena of this world, both physical and moral, might thus be classified. We come here to another question of great difficulty in philosophy. The world is full, as we see, of beauty as well as deformity, of virtue and vice. The apparent deformities and defects of the world required an explanation as all this could not have emanated from God who is supposed to be supremely good and powerful. The imperfections and the diseases of the physical world were explained for instance by the Neoplatonists by supposing that matter had a certain power of resistence so that the form of the idea of God often succeeded only partially in suffusing the matter with light. In fact matter refused to answer fully to the call of God and hence the various defects of the physical world. In the moral world vice was looked upon as involuntary, was in fact "the sleep of the soul. The soul itself is divine and can suffer no contamination but it nods and slumbers and lets go the reins." The

imperfections and the positive evils of this world even led other Greek philosophers to think that there were two creators one good and the other evil—an idea which if not based upon, is at least analogous to the doctrine of the Zoroastrians that there are two principles at work in nature the good and the evil typified in Ormuzd and Ahriman. Kapila discerned three principles at work instead of two *viz.*, the good, the passionate which was neither good nor bad and the bad or absolutely evil. These principles were detectable in the whole creation from the gods down to the demons and were the invariably distinguishing characteristics of Prakriti or matter. These three qualities as they are called resided in Prakriti and caused by their ever varying relations the various apparent imperfections and deformities observable in this world. The orthodox Indo-Aryan philosophers were so impressed with this explanation of evil in this world that the three qualities have been accepted by them and have been worked out to their minutest detail. In the Bhagavadgita the doctrine of the three qualities has been applied to the whole physical and psychical world. It may be added that the Indian philosophers never thought that evil could not have been created by God. The Bhagavadgita plainly states that all the Gunas including Tamas have been created by Him and evil things and actions proceed from Him as well as good things and actions though He is not in them.*

The creation of matter as well as spirit from God's own essence is to our mind the most remarkable idea

* ये चैव सात्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।
मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि ॥

of the Indo-Aryan philosophers. They believed with most other philosophers, ancient and modern, that soul is divine, but they also believed what most others do not, that matter is also divine, that matter is not only Himself but imbued with His spirit. To the orthodox philosophers thus there is no unbridgable gulf between matter and spirit and they succeeded in attaining to that unity "towards which all philosophy aspires" by the aid of their bold imagination.

The speculations of the Indo-Aryans like those of all ancient peoples with regard to matter were handicapped in consequence of the absence of the modern methods of research and observation. But in their speculations about the soul, they soared very high. The soul and its manifestations engaged their utmost attention. The soul is the cause and the principle, even according to Aristotle, of all the phenomena of physical and intellectual life. All animate beings live because there is soul in them; for as Panchashikha argues animate action ceases with death. The phenomenon of physical life is yet an unsolved one. Its chief expression is breath, for all living things breathe. Life is therefore breath. Life is soul and soul is divine, a part and parcel of the supreme Brahma. Breath or Prana therefore was often identified with Brahma in the same way as Akasha in the material world was identified with it. In the Upanishads Prana and Akasha are words which often stand for Brahma, as Badarayana has shown in his Sutras. Prana or Breath was very carefully studied by the Indian philosophers. It was divided into five sub-Pranas probably in correspondence with the five

senses and the five elements. They were assigned separate functions in the human body. Samana is the Vayu which keeps the heart in action, Udana is the one by which man speaks or vomits, Vyana enables a man to lift up a load, Apana ejects the fœces while Prana enables a man to breathe and live generally.* These different Pranas are also collectively called Prana. The Upanishads speak of these Pranas and their different functions frequently and so does the Mahabharata.

Like breath heat is also a distinguishing mark of the living organism and animal heat also attracted the attention of the Indian philosophers. The warmth of the whole body, especially of the head led them to believe that fire dwelt in the top of the head. In the Dharma-Vyadha discourse Vanaparva chapter 213, we have an interesting description how fire and air act in the several parts of the body. The naval is supposed to be the centre of air and brain of fire. There is a third centre of activity in the body *viz.*, the heart from which start in all directions Nadis or veins which are kept constantly working by the Pranas.† The Pranas, the Nadis and the heart are the pivots of Indian philosophy and the

* प्राणात्प्रणीयते प्राणी व्यानाद्व्यायच्छते तथा ।
गच्छत्यपानोऽधश्चैव समानो हृद्यवस्थितः ॥ २४
उदानादुच्छ्वसिति प्रतिभेदाच्च भाषते ।
इत्येव वायवः पञ्च चेष्टयन्तीह देहिनम् ॥ २५ शां० १८१

† As the number of the senses has increased to ten by the addition of the Karmendriyas, so the number of the Pranas has also risen to ten by the addition of Naga, Kurma, Krikala, Devadatta and Dhananjaya. See commentary on

प्रवृत्ता हृदयात् सर्वा तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्तथा ।
वहन्त्यन्नरसान् नाड्यो दशप्राणप्रचोदिताः ॥ वन० २१३-१९

numerous philosophical discussions and episodes in the Mahabharata do not omit to mention these whatever may be the subject.

More important than these phenomena of physical life and the phenomena of dream and sleep which also attracted the greatest curiosity of the Indo-Aryan philosophers, were the phenomena of intellectual life. At the very outset is the phenomenon of perception by the senses. It has engaged the deepest attention of philosophers of all ages. How do the senses perceive? By contact with the object perceived, was the natural answer suggested by the working of the senses of touch and smell. Smell was easily explained by supposing that particles emanated from the object smelled and came into contact with the nose. But sound and form could not be easily explained. It is to the credit of the Indian philosophers that they found that sound travelled along all elements. Of course science has proved that sound cannot travel along ether as it is not heard in a vacuum; but such experiments were impossible in those days. The sense of sight is the most difficult of all senses to explain and has been the subject of the most diverse theories. Some believed that the sense went out of the eye to the object seen and thus became cognisant of its form and colour. The atomists of Greece thought that every object incessantly sent out thin husks or membranes which entered the eye that happened to be in their neighbourhood. Where the eye was at a distance, the effect was produced by the intermediary action of the air. In short according to Democritus, air was the intervening agent which conveyed the impression of form. The Indian

philosophers conceived form as seen by the aid of fire or light the rays of which brought the visual sense in contact with the object seen. We see moreover that perception depends upon the wakefulness of the mind. The mere contact of the sense with the object does not cause perception. The feeling has to be conveyed by what is called the mind to Buddhi and from thence to the soul. The Indo-Aryan philosophers explained perception as caused by four media *viz.*, the senses, Chitta or thought, Manas or mind and Buddhi or the faculty of discernment.* Physiology explains perception as caused by the contact of object with the organ of sense communicated by nerves to the brain. What mind is no philosopher tells us definitely. It is however unquestionably an attribute of the brain or the heart or of the nervous system.

The Indian philosophers however clearly saw that all these of themselves have no power for action. The mind with the senses, the five Pranas with the Nadis belong to the world of matter and cannot be set in motion unless there is Jiva to impart action to them and to control and regulate it, for all these cease to work when life departs. Round this still unsolved phenomenon of life have gathered the highest and the most elevated conceptions of philosophy. Philosophers of all times and of all climes agree in believing not only that "life is, but that life is divine." The consciousness that I see, hear &c. makes it certain that there is a lord of the whole body with its differ-

* चित्तमिंद्रियसंघातात्परं तस्मात्परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिः क्षेत्रज्ञो बुद्धितः परः ॥ शां० २७६-१६

ent senses. The senses cannot feel themselves but they are felt by another behind them; although the soul is not seen, its existence cannot be denied. In a beautiful passage the Mahabharata says "You cannot see the other side of the Himalayas or the back of the moon, but you are sure that both exist. Even as one seeing the dark spot on the moon does not yet realise that it is the earth (reflected in it) so also the soul, though one is convinced of its existence, is not clearly and truly known. You can well understand by the aid of your reason that the sun exists somewhere in the interval between its setting and rising. As deer are caught by the help of deer, birds of birds and elephants of elephants, so is the knowable known by the help of knowledge. The immaterial soul residing in the material body can only be seen by knowledge. The senses cannot perceive themselves, so the highest reason cannot feel the highest knowable. The soul separated from the body is like the moon on the Amavasya day.. The moon shines again when she moves on to another place and so the soul when it moves on to another body shines. The waxing and the waning belong to the disc of the moon and not the moon herself, so the waxing and waning and disappearance belong to the body and not the soul. As the shadow which eclipses the moon is not seen when it approaches or when it recedes from her so the approaching and the receding of the lord of the body cannot be marked. But the *shadow* is clearly visible when it is on the moon so the lord of the body becomes visible when it is in conjunction with the body."

Such is the poetical and eloquent way in which the Mahabharata (chapter 203 Shantiparva) tries to impress upon its readers the existence and the nature of the soul. Various illustrations are employed to bring home to the reader the fact that the soul exists even after death and that the soul becomes visible again when it comes into contact with the body. The illustration of an eclipse is very forcible and grand. You do not see the shadow of the earth as it travels through the sky and as it approaches and recedes from the moon—a remark creditable to the minute observation of the Indo-Aryan philosophers. But it is visible as soon as and so long as it is on it. So the soul whose existence apart from the body cannot be denied becomes visible when it comes into contact with a body. The nature of the soul is also suggested by this very illustration employed. It is the shadow of the divine or its reflection. It is not a corporeal thing. It partakes of the immaterial, the all-pervading Soul and is knowable not by any of the senses but by knowledge itself.

The question arises here, why does the soul if it is divine go astray, why do we feel miserable and unhappy? The answer given by the Platonists was as follows: "As in clear water the reflection is clearly visible, so is the soul clearly visible when the senses are pure. But when they are muddled the reflection is clouded. Ignorance takes hold of the mind and the diseased mind influences the senses which in their contact with their objects become unsatiated. From sin spring unending desires. The mind is therefore constantly absorbed

in objects of enjoyment and turns its back towards the soul that is within. In short man is unhappy when the senses go astray and roam unrestrained but he is happy when they are properly kept in control. He who gives up all sensual qualities enjoys immortal happiness."

The remedy is to get rid of desire. "Cut the rope" says *Zeller* "and the balloon will rise." Here we come to the chief idea of the Yoga philosophy. The soul within is led astray by the mind which constantly works under the impulse of desire and makes us move and act and come into contact with objects of sense. The soul therefore will shine in all its effulgence only if the mind is rid of its desires, in a word if it is made to sit quiet. "Yoga is the quieting of the mind" says the first Sutra Patanjali on Yoga. The quieting of the mind is a very difficult thing indeed and the Yoga philosophy lays down rules and prescribes particular postures and bodily exercises by which the mind can be quieted. These methods are various and we need not enter into their details; it is sufficient to state that the breath in its five sub-divisions, the mind and the senses are the chief objects of attention in the attainment of Yoga. This Yoga is described in the Mahabharata in detail in numerous places and we shall content ourselves with quoting one such description. "Without strife, with the mind constantly fixed in Sattva and observing the prescribed rules, in places where the mind is not disturbed, there the Yogi sitting still like a log of wood should concentrate his mind after having brought all the senses together. The ear should not hear,

the skin should not feel touch, the eye should not see form, the nose should not smell anything. Withdrawing the senses into the mind the Yogi should steady it, accustomed as it is to roam, to move out of the five gates (senses) or to dance without any support or base. When the five senses and the mind are thus held restrained, there will be a flash within as of lightning in the cloud. As a drop of water stands steady on a leaf so does the mind of a Yogi in the first Dhyana. But the mind soon slips by the aid of Vayu; but not despairing, untired, without sleep and without envy, the Yogi should steady the mind again. The mind will raise Vichâra (thought) Viveka (discrimination) Vitarka (ideas). Though thus troubled by the mind, the Muni should not lose courage and proceed to secure his own welfare. The Yogi will thus by and by derive pleasure in concentration and in the end attain to beatitude."

The Indian philosophers speak as eloquently of the bliss of union with God in meditation as do the Neoplatonists of Greece. Plotinus says, "Man's duty is to unite himself with God by mounting upwards and leaving the world behind. The kingdom of God is meditation." Into the secrets of this meditation or Dhyana we will not enter. The reality of the beatific vision is a matter of experience as well as of faith and all philosophers whether they be Yogis or Vedantis, Platonists or Pythagorians speak of visions and their ineffable bliss, from experience as well as faith. The method of rising to that condition of the mind may be different but all paths lead to the same goal, that higher stage "when we return into ourselves and see God there by

direct vision." There are however one or two points which are worthy of notice in this connection. The Yogis not only prescribe a rigid moral life, like all other philosophers, for a man who would rise to that condition of union with God but declare Ahimsa to be a *sine qua non* of success in Yoga. The rule of abstention from animal food which naturally follows must also be observed and the Yogi should take care not to harm even the smallest animal. In this view perhaps the Neoplatonists also agreed. Plotinus was himself an abstainer from animal food. Sleep also has to be diminished as much as possible and of Plotinus it is recorded that his sleep was of the shortest. The Indian Yogis pass day and night almost without sleep and the following short yet beautiful description of Yoga in the well-known Bhishmastava is worthy of quotation.* "I salute Him the heart of Yoga whom Yogis, devoid of sleep, having mastery over their breath, standing firm in the quality of goodness and with their ten organs of sense restrained see as a flash of light in the concentration of their mind." Here are brought together the chief characteristics and practices of the Yogis of India.

The Yoga philosophy teaches how the soul suffers in this world in consequence of the senses drawing it constantly towards objects of enjoyments and how by the restraining of the senses with the mind the soul attains to unity with the Divine from which it comes. The generality of human beings are however full of the world and the restraint of the

* यं विनिद्रा जितश्वासाः सत्वस्थाः संयतेंद्रियाः ।
ज्योतिः पश्यन्ति युञ्जानास्तस्मै योगात्मने नमः ॥ शां० ४७-५४

senses is as difficult as the quieting of the mind. Souls therefore move in this world bound by their good or bad actions and here we come to the doctrines of Karma and transmigration. Each soul is followed by its Karma or action good or bad and the soul travels through the realm of animal and vegetable creation according to its Karma. This Karma is eternal i.e. there is no beginning to it and God punishes or rewards souls according to their Karma, unless by awakening to its unity with God by the power of Yoga or knowledge, the soul burns its whole past unenjoyed Karma and having enjoyed its *prarabdha* Karma attains deliverance from re-birth. Such are in short the allied doctrines of Karma, of transmigration, and of deliverance from re-birth. Every Indian philosophy whether it is the orthodox Vedanta, the semi-orthodox Yoga and Sankhya or the heterodox Nyaya or Bauddha (with the exception of those who do not believe in the existence of the soul at all) accept this belief and the aim of every philosophy in India is the deliverance of the soul from re-birth. Moksha or Nirvana is the final goal of all. All philosophers start with the axiom that the world is full of pain, birth in it is an affliction, and to be freed from birth and rebirth is the proper aim of every human effort and knowledge.

Let us see how the Indians arrived at this theory of transmigration of souls which did not remain confined to India but was carried by Pythagoras from India to Greece and which was believed in by the Pythagoreans and even the Platonists. Those who believe in a soul distinct from the body have naturally to answer two further questions, why and when the soul

comes to the body and where it goes when it leaves it. Plotinus who is not quite a believer in transmigration though a follower of Platonism answers the first question as follows. "The soul proper comes down to occupy the body which nature has prepared and endowed for it. No force is needed. It comes neither willingly nor sent ; but driven by natural instinct because that to which it comes needs its fostering care." The soul joins the body "for the perfection of the whole." We have not a very clear and consistent explanation here as to why the soul comes down from the Divine to inhabit the body though it may be said that a consistent explanation on this as on other subjects in philosophy is almost impossible under any system of belief.

For the sake of diversity let us see what the atomist philosopher of Greece has to say in this connection. Of course according to him there is no God or divine soul and the soul-atoms which are supposed to be small, round, smooth and most mobile, flit about in this world of matter and it seems to have been thought that these atoms enter the body with breath. "It was obvious that their great mobility would constantly keep them endeavouring to escape from the body and respiration was accordingly entrusted with the task of counteracting such attempt. It worked in two ways; first by holding the atoms back by a current of air and secondly by continually renewing them. The extinction of this process would bring about their final dissipation."

The Indian philosophers answer the question by the theory of Karma. Under the law of Karma, it is explained, the soul goes to particular bodies in cease-

less succession until it is delivered from this round by the effect of true knowledge. In chapter 211 of the Shantiparva the shlokás of which are somewhat enigmatical, Bhishma tries to explain to Yudhisthira how the soul goes from body to body in a ceaselessly moving wheel under the operations of Karma and Bhoga. The soul in its migrations goes to the bodies of different animals and even to those of immovable yet living trees and plants. "As the same thread goes through a golden bead or through a pearl or for the matter of that through an earthern ball so does the soul enter a bull or a man or an elephant or a deer or a worm or a butterfly being attracted to these forms in consequence of its deeds.* Even trees and plants are believed to have a life or Chaïtanya. "The plants feel pain and pleasure and there is a growth where there is a cutting. These facts prove that plants have life or Chaitanya. It is hence that water given to plants is taken in by them and the fire within them enables its being digested and thus stickiness and growth result."† Thus does Bhrigu explain to Bharadvaja in chapter 184 of the Shantiparva how plants have life or in other words a soul. These are crude yet very shrewd observations and it is strange that the researches

* तदेव च यथा सूत्रं सुवर्णे वर्तते पुनः ।
मुक्तास्वथ प्रवालेषु मृण्मये राजते तथा ॥ ५
तद्वद्गोश्वमनुष्येषु तद्वद्धस्तिमृगादिषु ।
तद्वत्कीटपतङ्गेषु प्रसक्तात्मा स्वकर्मभिः ॥ ६ शां० २०६

† सुखदुःखयोश्च ग्रहणात् छिन्नस्य च विरोहणात् ।
जीवं पश्यामि वृक्षाणामचैतन्यं न विद्यते ॥ १७
तेन तज्जलमादत्तं जरयत्यग्निमारुतौ ।
आहारपरिणामाच्च स्नेहो वृद्धिश्च जायते ॥ २८ शां० ८५

of Dr. Bose of Bengal are actually tending to prove that plants have as much sensibility as animals.

In its transmigration the soul is never rid of the Bhuta-sukshma or fine elements, and goes out of and comse into a body accompanied and enveloped by these attenuated atoms of matter and senses collectively called Lingadeha by later philosophers. The soul with its Lingadeha resides in the cavity of the heart which is as large as a man's thumb; and is therefore often itself said to be of the size of a man's thumb, by transference from its receptacle the human heart. As a matter of fact the soul even with its Lingadeha or corporeal bag is without size and cannot be seen with the human eye. It is as invisible as the Akasha or ether, and only Yogis by the aid of particular powers are alleged to be able to see the soul when it passes out of the body. The following remarkable shloka in chapter 254 Shantiparva clearly states that "persons knowing the particular Shastra alone see the attenuated lord of the body when separated from it, by methods prescribed in that Shastra.*

The idea of a Lingadeha or a physical envelop of the soul accompanying it, was entertained even by the Greeks. Plotinus held that the soul puts on an ethereal body in heaven, the region of the fixed stars, but Porphyry went a step further and held that the body was never wholly put off, that a corporeal envelop of finer or grosser texture was essential to the permanence of a human soul. "In this way it is that souls of human beings go into human bodies and not

* शरीराद्विप्रमुक्तं हि सूक्ष्मभूत शरीरिणम ।
कर्मभिः परिपश्यन्ति शास्त्रोक्तैः शास्त्रवेदिनः ॥

any other bodies." For in the opinion of Porphyry, a human soul in its transmigration never goes to the body of a brute but goes always to the human body. Other philosophers, however, of the Platonic and Neoplatonic schools believed that the soul went to any body whatever in its peregrinations. The Indian philosophers believed that plants as well as lower animals had souls and in its migration from body to body the soul went even into the vegetable body. This belief has, in one way, simplified the solution of the second part of the question why and when the soul enters the body. The soul passes through vegetables into food and through food into animals; and then accompanying or imbedded in sperms it passes into the new body.*

When the human soul passes away from the body it goes to the moon according to the Vedantic philosophers. It is strange that in the Mahabharata we have not a detailed description of the passage of the soul to the moon and its return back to this earth. In the Bhagavatgita, however, we have the single shloka in this connection, "The smoke, the night, the dark half of the month, the year's half when the sun goes towards the south, in these the soul of the Yogi having gone to the moon returns."† In this shloka is clearly indicated the belief of the Vedantis that the soul ordinarily goes to the moon which mythologically is the abode of the dead.

* Biology tells us that it is not every sperm that is possessed of the power of generation and it is possible that science may eventually substantiate this idea of the Vedantis.

† धूमोरात्रिस्तथा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणायनम् ।
तत्र चान्द्रमसं ज्योतिर्योगी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥

There having lived for a time the soul returns by the same path *viz.*, from the moon to Akasha or ether, thence to the wind, thence to showers, thence to the earth where it becomes food and is thrown as oblation into the fire of the human stomach and from thence it goes to the womb of the female and is born as a mortal.*

This is the way by which meritorious souls come and go and is called the Pitriyana path, but there are two other paths also. The Devayana path, as it is called, is for the blessed Yogis and extraordinarily meritorious men who dying in the bright half of the month and in daytime and in the Uttarayana (see Gita अग्निर्ज्योति &c.) go to the sun and from thence to different Lokas† or to the lightning from where a blessed being takes them to Brahma from whence there is no return. Something of this kind is believed in by Plotinus also who thought that "those who have lived a good moral life on this earth rise after death as far as the sun but not higher, until after successive incarnations they have attained to perfect detachment." There are however others who had lived a very immoral and base life. The lot of these souls was, according to the Upanishads, that they were born in those lives which are very short like those of worms and gnats. They

* Chhandogyopanishad, Prapathaka 5 and Brihadarnyopanishad Chap. 8 Brahmana 2.

† See Anugita.

तारारूपाणि सर्वाणि यश्चैतच्चन्द्रमण्डलम् ।
यच्च विभ्राजते लोके स्वभासा सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥
स्थानान्येतानि जानीहि जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
कर्मक्षयाच्च ते सर्वे च्यवन्ते वै पुनःपुनः ॥ आश्व० १०-१८४

come into life and pass out of it incessantly and at short intervals or are born as dogs and jackals &c. In this way a great philosophical doctrine was made subservient to the inculcation of high morality.

To be liberated from this unceasing round of birth and rebirth, that is the highest goal of a man's life in this world. That is the end of all philosophy. How to attain to Moksha or liberation from this wheel of rebirth, it is the business of every philosophy to teach. The Kâpilas thought that the knowledge of the 25 Tattvas would suffice to secure Moksha. To realise that Purusha was distinct from Prakriti which alone worked and was the seat of the feeling of happiness and misery was to be freed from rebirth. The Yogis taught that the mind inclined the soul to enjoy the objects of sense through the senses and the cutting off of the soul from all attachment to the world of sense by the restraint of the mind and the senses secured absolution. The Vedantis thought that the soul forgot its divine nature and hence was entangled in this labyrinth of birth and death. To realise its identity with the Supreme Brahma was to put an end to transmigration.

What was this Brahma which all, more particularly the orthodox philosophers, preached? The Upanishads contain in some of their most eloquent passages an answer to this question. They were the first utterances of the philosophical awakening of the Indo-Aryan mind and are therefore full of vivid light and sublime vigour. The Mahabharata on the other hand represents the history of Indian philosophical thought through several centuries and its contamination with rival ideas and a growing

superstition. The philosophical disquisitions in the Mahabharata are therefore laboured and enigmatical, constantly attempting to reconcile the orthodox ideas with Sankhya and Yoga and are dimmed by the growth of the personal worship of gods and demons. We therefore miss those superb descriptions of Brahma, of the bliss of union with Brahma and of the life of spiritual existence uncontaminated with gross feelings, which are to be found in the Upanishads. Yet the light is there. The Bhagavad-gita is full of such high ideas. In the Sanat-sujatiya discourse (Udyogaparva chap. 40) we have an eloquent description of Brahma and of the bliss of union with it. It will not be amiss if we quote it here at length.

*"The great cause of the universe is the greatest effulgence and glory. It is that from which the senses derive their power and from which even the sun derives its lustre. The Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! The great cause creates this world and maintains it; it is that which shines with unborrowed light in the heart of all shining things. The Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! Water was born from water (the grosser elements from the finer) and in this fine and gross creation both gods (the higher and the lower souls) take their abode in the vacant space (of the heart); the third untired, the shining soul of souls, supports both and earth and heaven. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! The great cause maintains both the gods (the higher and

* This translation differs from that given by Justice Telang who closely follows Shankara's gloss.

the lower souls) and the earth and the sky and the whole universe. From him are born the several directions and the rivers and the boundless oceans. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! To Him imperishable in the heavens is led this soul by horses (senses) yoked to this perishable chariot (body). Yogis see &c. There can be no likeness of him in form nor can anybody see him with the eye. Those who realise his presence by their understanding, their reasoning and their heart become immortal. Drinking at the great river (of life) composed of twelve streams and looking only to its sweetness the souls move in the terrible wheel in this great cause. Yogis see &c. The ever moving Jiva enjoys half his good actions on the moon and returns to this earth to enjoy the other half. And yet the great Lord created the sacrifice. The souls without wings coming to this Ashvattha or *peepul tree* with its golden leaves (this world with its many allurements) get wings (desires) and therefore fly about according to their own inclinations. From the full (Brahma) are born the full (souls) and from the full again the full (senses) are made. These take away the full from the Full and yet the Full remains full. Yogis see that eternal Divine Being! From Him come the winds and they go back to Him, and from Him come fire and moon and from Him comes life. In fact all this world comes from Him, we can not specify it all. The swan moving upon the water does not raise one of its legs. But if he keeps it up always, there will be neither death nor immortality; the Yogis see &c. You can not see Him with the eye; He can only be seen with the heart

purified. The man who is inclined towards Him must curb his mind and feel no sorrow and retire to the forest. 'I do never care for honour nor have I death or birth.' He is neither ruffled by good things nor depreciated by bad ones, for He is firm in the Immortal. A man therefore ought to try to attain to that Brahma. He who thus sees himself in the whole world feels no pain if other beings are devoted to different things. The Being of the size of a thumb that is seated in the heart and yet is invisible, he is the Unborn. Knowing him, the wise man remains always happy."

Such is one of the many poetical and somewhat enigmatical passages in the Mahabharata in which an attempt is made to describe the indescribable. The Supreme Deity is called the Great Soul an expression used by the Platonic philosophy also. He is the cause of the universe and yet himself is the material. He is eternal and omnipotent. He is glory and effulgent light. He is the cause of this *sansara*; from Him are born all the souls which move in this *sansara* on the wings of desire. Let man curb his desires, retire to the forest and by a virtuous life and a heart devoted to Him realise in his own self the creator of the universe and he will be eternally happy. The human soul is but the Great Soul of the universe, the great glory and light and when you realise the identity you are ever-lastingly happy.

The Great Soul, the cause of this universe is, in this passage, conceived in three forms, the highest that is immoveable, the second that brings this universe into being and the third that is seated within the heart of man. Curiously enough the Greek philo-

sophers were also led to distinguish three different conditions of the Unknowable. The Platonists conceived a Divine trinity and the Neoplatonists also believed in it, formed of the One, the Intelligence and the Soul. "By turning Himself to himself" observed Plotinus "He began to see and this seeing is Intelligence. The One is the power of all things and Intelligence separated itself as it were from the power and saw its effects. By turning itself to itself the One became conscious, Intelligence was filled with ideas and the Soul with forms, the words shot forth to quicken matter and the great stream of life began." The Sankhyas similarly interpose between the world and Prakriti, its cause, two stages namely Mahat or Prakriti in motion and Ahankara or consciousness; and these are accepted by the Vedantis also. In short before this manifold world can be reconciled with the perfect One without any wish or thought we must interpose one or two phases of the idea of the Divine in which he is conceived as conscious and moving.

To be united with this perfect One was the *summum bonum* of the Indian philosophers and as the same passage urges in the end, the way to attain union was the renunciation of the world. The question naturally arises here, can there be no Moksha for a man who sticks to this world and lives a virtuous life? Is it absolutely necessary for a man who would attain to salvation to retire to the forest, to give up all his connection with worldly activities? The question is discussed in the Mahabharata in more places than one and the answer though it sometimes inclines in favour of

the latter view,* endorses the opinion that there can be no absolution for a householder.

It is strange to observe that the Indian philosophers of all shades of opinion, except perhaps the Charvakas, were almost unanimous in looking upon the world as full of misery and in believing that renunciation in one from or another was the only way out of it. Sankhyas and Yogis, Vedantis and Bauddhas were equally impressed with the emptiness of worldly pleasures and the fleeting evanescence of worldly greatness. Buddha whose highly imaginative mind only required a spark to set it ablaze, was shocked by the sight of a sick man, an old man and a dead man, and he shrank away from the world which was so full of disease, decay, and death. The first chapters of the Moksha-Dharma section of the Shantiparva contain a very eloquent exposition of the nothingness of the world and try to induce in the mind of the reader that feeling of Viraga or aversion to the world which is considered as essential to one who would seek salvation. We have already seen that the Yogis went so far as to look upon all contact of the soul with objects of sense as the cause of its bondage and thought that emancipation was possible only by the stoppage of the senses and the stilling of the mind. The Sankhyas held that pain and pleasure did not belong to the soul at all but to Prakriti and that emancipation meant the awakening of the soul to the fact that it had no connection in reality with pain and pleasure. This was in effect renunciation of the world in another from. The Jains and the Bauddhas equally

* कस्यैषा वाग्भवेत्सत्या नास्ति मोक्षो गृहादिति ।

believed in renunciation and instituted those orders of Bhikshus or monks for which they became famous. This general tendency of the philosophic mind of the Indo-Aryans is certainly surprising when we remember that they lived in a land which was overflowing with the blessings which a material world can offer. Perhaps the Indo-Aryans were, as we have elsewhere observed, naturally of an ascetic bent of mind. The political condition of the country may also have tended to strengthen this bent. In a community where the individuals forming it, take no interest in its well-being, there can be no consciousness of a corporate life, and each person is consequently engrossed by his own individual wrongs and miseries. A complex organism has naturally a continuous life and in the consciousness of it, there is a tendency to forget or be little the incessant death or decay of individual organisms. Be that as it may, it can not be denied that the philosophers of ancient India looked upon this world as only binding the soul more firmly to the wheel of rebirth, from which it could only escape by renouncing the world.

There were, however, a few sturdy thinkers who believed that a virtuous life accompanied by the temparate enjoyment of this world's gifts was as instrumental in securing salvation as Sankhya or Yoga. Of this great philosophical doctrine Shrikrishna was the chief teacher and he has propounded it in the immortal Bhagavadgita. The true teaching of the Bhagavadgita we shall try to elucidate in the next chapter; it is sufficient here to remark that that teaching in one word amounted to this; viz., that the path of righteous action was as efficacious as the

path of no action. The efficacy of a virtuous life is not only preached in the Bhagavadgita, but in the whole Mahabharata. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana are in fact intended to preach the noble doctrine that virtue is as efficacious as Sanyasa or Yoga and that under no temptation, under no calamity should a man abandon the path of righteousness. The lives of Rama and Yudhishthira, of Dasharatha and Bhishma as depicted in these national epics of India are immortal examples of lives lived on this sublime principle and to our mind these epics, however much they go into other matters, are essentially intended to teach the highest ethical truths.

The doctrine of virtue was no doubt, in India, mixed up with religion. To the Indo-Aryan mind virtue was not separable from religion and yet it was not oblivious of the distinction. The word Dharma covered both grounds; but Dharma was divisible into two parts; the higher and the lower. The Mahabharata represents Dharma as eightfold, viz., sacrifice, learning the Vedas, gifts and penance on the one hand and truth, restraint of passions, forgiveness and freedom from greed on the other. The first four form what is called the Pitriyana path while the latter form the Devayana path.* Pitriyana path leads to the moon only; Devayana path to union with the eternal Divine Being. In the Manusmriti the same

* इज्याध्ययनदानानि तपः सत्यं क्षमा दमः ।
अलोभ इति मार्गोयं धर्मस्याष्टविधःस्मृतः ॥ ७५
तत्र पूर्वश्चतुर्वर्गः पितृयाणपथे रतः ।
उत्तरो देवयानस्तु सद्भिराचारितः सदा ॥ ७६ वन० २

See also, अत्र पूर्वश्चतुर्वर्गो दम्भार्थमपि सेव्यते ।
उत्तरस्तु चतुर्वर्गो नामहात्मसु तिष्ठति ॥ उद्यो०

idea is developed and we have the enumeration of ten virtues which every man, whatever his caste and condition in life, was bound to practise. The Bhagavadgita touches this subject in its inimitable way and euumerates the virtues in one place. To quote Telang's translation "freedom from fear, purity of heart, perseverence in the pursuit of knowledge, straightforwardness, harmlessness, truth, freedom from anger, tranquility, freedom from the habit of backbiting, compassion for all beings, freedom from avarice, noble-mindedness, forgiveness, courage, freedom from a desire to injure others and absence of vanity, are godlike endowments. Ostentatiousness, pride, vanity, anger, harshness and ignorance are demoniac endowments. Godlike endowments, (adds the Bhagavadgita) are means for final emancipation, demoniac endowments for bondage."

The path of virtue, is not however easier, as we are tempted to think, than the other paths of emancipation ; nay it is as difficult and severe. The trials in life which often overtake a virtuous man sometimes shake his conviction in the efficacy of virtue and the Mahabharata contains some fine discussions on this subject. Yudhishthira observes to his queen in their exile to the forest "I follow Dharma not because I see any immediate profit from it, but from a conviction that virtue is to be followed for its own sake.* The vicious man may prosper for a time ; but virtue's reward is sure to come though now invisible." Even if therefore virtue may seem to suffer we must not allow our conviction in its efficacy to

* धर्मं चरामि सुश्रोणि न धर्मफलकारणात् ।
धर्मवाणिज्यको हीनो जघन्यो धर्मवादिनाम् ॥

be shaken. That is the most difficult thing to do. Our frail minds are tempted from the path of virtue even by the prospect of the smallest unjust gain which we can secure without difficulty, what need then to speak of privations and calamities? Hence men who have lived a perfect and virtuous life are few and far between in every age. That self-denial which is necessary for resisting such temptation is as great as the self-abnegation which is required in Sanyasa or Yoga. A virtuous mind fortified by this self-denial is sure to raise the soul higher and higher till it realises its identity with the eternal Consciousness. The doctrine that a truly virtuous life leads to salvation as much as Sanyasa or Yoga is thus not an inconsistent one but is based on reason.

It is sometimes difficult, under particular circumstances, to determine what is the right course of conduct. Such circumstances may easily be imagined and the Mahabharata contains a few interesting discussions on this subject. We will not, however, go into these controversies. In our ordinary life, on very rare occasions indeed are we in doubt as to what is proper for us to do. On other thousand and one occasions, we clearly know what is right and wrong and yet we do not do the right thing from various causes. We must guard ourselves on such occasions and resist the seductions of fear or desire. The virtues are no doubt godlike endowments, coming to us, to adopt a Platonic expression, "by divine allotment" but discipline and practice are essential for their adequate development. The Mahabharata tries to inculcate this doctrine throughout its vast length and concludes with the memorable

shloka quoted below* which may be translated into English verse somewhat as follows.

Give up not righteousness for greed or fear
Or for desire or even life's dear sake.
Eternal's virtue, pain and pleasure fleeting,
Fleeting is life, but not the soul divine.

* न जातु कामान्न भयान्न लोभाद् धर्मं त्यजेज्जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
धर्मो नित्यः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये जीवो नित्यस्तस्य हेतुस्त्वनित्यः ॥

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF SHRIKRISHNA.

We are now in a position to undertake the difficult task of elucidating the life and the teaching of Shrikrishna viewed from the historical standpoint. The life of Shrikrishna like the lives of all deified heroes has, in the course of the five thousand years or so which have elasped since his birth, been so heavily overlaid by the accretion of mythological incidents that it seems almost impossible to extract the grains of truth that underlie them. His teaching, equally, as summed up in that inestimable book on ethics and philosophy, the Bhagavadgita, has been so distorted by each successive thinker who viewed it from the stand-point of his own different circumstances that it seems almost hopeless to find out what Shrikrishna really taught in his own days. Now, however, that we know or at least have attempted to determine historically his social, religious and political environments, now that we have assigned a historical shape to the incidents of the great war in which he played so conspicuous a part, now that we have attempted to ascertain the state of society, of religion, and of philosophy as it was in the beginning of the epic period and at its close, we think that the task has become possible and we shall try to lay before the reader the idea which

we have been able to form, on the ever interesting and yet ever vexed subject of Shrikrishna's life and work as a politician, a religious preacher and a philosopher.

That his was a giant intellect which like that of Napolean applied itself to all the multifarious departments of human activities will be conceded by all. But unlike Napolean whose sad reverse in the end undid the work of his life, Shrikrishna was successful in whatever he undertook throughout his long life and his work and teaching have left an indelible mark on the Hindu mind and has moulded the destinies of this continent of India in a manner from which there can be no receding. His actions and exploits have been the delight of countless men and women through thousands of years, his name is sung even now in millions of households with devotion and delight, his teaching is followed and respected by learned and unlearned men speaking the diverse dialects of India. Nay the Bhagavadgita promises to be a book of world-wide reputation, if not acceptance, in these days of philosophical intercourse among the nations of the world. Shrikrishna is therefore unquestionably one of the grandest intellects which the world has yet produced and the elucidation of the history of his life and the gist of his teaching must always be a subject of absorbing interest.

We do not go in with those who believe that geniuses or great men are called forth by the circumstances of their age nor do we countenance the idea that the birth of a genius is the necessary outcome of circumstances. As a matter of fact cir-

cumstances have very little to do with the birth of great men. Bacon and Copernicus ought in that case to have been born centuries before they actually were, for the circumstances which called forth their birth had existed throughout the sixteen centuries which elapsed since the days of Aristotle. Again Shakespeare might as well have belonged to any age and any clime. On the other hand the imperial tedencies of Napolean were in direct opposition to the circumstances of the country in which he was born. Jesus and Mahomet were beings whose coming could not have been foretold nor can it be that the circumstances of a particular age were more fitted to produce them than those of another.

It does not however necessarily follow from these views that one must be a believer in the constant interference of God in the concerns of this world. It might as well be that the birth of great men at intervals is itself a law of nature and a circumstance which has to be taken into account along with other circumstances. As centres of depression are formed from time to time in the atmosphere under the operation of a law which is not yet known and as it is impossibe to say why a particular storm centre occurred in a particular place and at a particular time and moved in a particular direction causing a deluge of rain, we are unable to explain why centres of immense intellectuality are formed from time to time and in different places. We can only follow the course of their stormy activities and the results of their powerful workings. Of course great men can only work in the country and the age in which they are born and

can not separate themselves from their surroundings. But they leave on these surroundings an impress of their own which it is the task of a critic to discover and elucidate. As a great author has put it, "if there is always on one side the irresistible mechanical play of circumstances of a particular age, which may be analysed and explained, there is always also as if acting from another side, the comparatively inexplicable force of a personality, resistent to, while it is moulded by, them. It might even be said that the trial task of criticism begins exactly where the estimate of general conditions and of the environment leaves off and we touch what is unique in the individual genius which contrived by force of will to have its masterful way with that environment." The reader can thus well understand why and to what extent we are diffident in the task we have set before us, of elucidating the life and teaching of Shrikrishna.

It is necessary before proceeding on our task to say a few words about the materials on which we have to base such an attempt. The Mahabharata does not purport to tell the story of Shrikrishna's life though it is full of references to it. In fact the Mahabharata would not have been what it is without Shrikrishna's towering personality. As, however, he is not the chief actor in the epic, his life could not be given in full detail and is only incidentally noticed therein. There are doubtless narrations about some of his actions and feelings given through his own mouth but the other incidents of his life are often referred to as if they were well known to the reader. The absence of a connected story of his life is thus much

felt by the reader of this epic poem, vast as it is. To supply this very obvious want it seems that the Harivansha was originally written and subsequently tranformed by Sauti into a Khila Parva or a sequel section of the Mahabharata itself. Harivansha and the Mahabharata are now before us in a final form which belongs very probably to a date subsequent to that of Megasthenes. The writings of Megasthenes and of the historians who accompanied Alexander are thus our oldest historical data for a life of Shrikrishna. The Mahabharata and the Harivansha are so to speak our latest reliable authorities for it. The Vishnu and other Puranas are full of the stories of Shrikrishna, and the Bhâgavata gives the latest version of them. But for the purpose of history the value of the Puranas is relatively very small, as it is always difficult to determine how far a story given in them is the natural suggestion of religious sentiment or is based on historical foundation. With these preliminary remarks we proceed to give a sketch of Shrikrishna's life and teaching.

Shrikrishna is generally believed to have been born on Shravana Vadya Ashtami of the 3185th year before the Christian era. This exact date, as popularly believed in, is probably historically correct. We have already adduced arguments in support of this theory and may repeat them here for the sake of refreshing the reader's memory. Megasthenes who probably quotes from Harivansha, not as it exists to day, but as it was in his time *viz.*, a real dynastic list as its name implies, has recorded the statement that between Dionysos and Chandragupta there were 153 kings and a period of 6042 years

and that Heracles was younger than Dionysos by fifteen generations. Although it is not easy to identify Dionysos it is indisputable that Heracles is none else than Hari or Shrikrishna, for Megasthenes records the following particulars about him, "This Heracles like his Thœban namesake, had married many wives and was worshipped by the Shouraseni people whose chief towns were Mathora and Cleisobora." If then there were 153 *minus* 15 *i. e.* 138 generations between Chandragupta and Shrikrishna, taking 20 years as the usually accepted average for each generation of kings, we find a period of 2760 years intervening between them which gives us 3072 B. C. as the approximate date of Shrikrishna *i. e.* very probably of his death. If the date of his birth as popularly believed in is taken to be correct he was at the time of his death 113 years old which is not at all an improbable age if we consider the longevity of old men even in these days. The Mahabharata does not give Shrikrishna's age in any place but there is an indication in the Sabhaparva that even at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhisthira, he was an old man. Shishupala in condemnation of Yudhisthira's giving Shrikrishna the honour of the first worship says "If you think he deserves the first worship because he is old, why have you worshipped him when his father Vasudeva is present or for the matter of that when Drupada is here.* If we take 3185 B. C. as the date of Shrikrishna's

* अथवा स्थविरं कृष्णं मन्यसे कुरुपुंगव ।
वसुदेवे स्थिते वृद्धे कथमर्हति तत्सुतः ॥ १

birth he was, at the time of the Rajasuya about 71 years of age, being at the time of the Mahabharata war about 84. Considering that Lord Roberts actively worked as the commander-in-chief of the British forces in South Africa at the age of 82, we need not wonder at Shrikrishna's taking the reins of Arjuna's chariot at the age of 84; while the old Drona wielded the bow as very few did on the same battlefield, at the age of 85. There is therefore nothing that can militate against the date of Shrikrishna's birth as popularly believed in and the evidence of Megasthenes is strong proof at least of this fact that the same date was generally accepted even in his days *i. e.* so far back as 300 B. C.

If the date of Shrikrishna's birth as of Jesus is historically true, the early life and circumstances of both are equally shrouded in mystery being invested with mythological halo during the course of the thousands of years which have supervened. To use the words of Strauss who has written a life of Christ from the historical standpoint, history cannot take up the thread of the narrative of Shrikrishna's life before his appearance on the scene of the Mahabharata 'except in two or three important aspects'. We shall elucidate these two or three important incidents in Krishna's early life as much as possible on the authority of the Mahabharata itself.

The great Shrikrishna belonged to that Yadava race of Kshatriyas who, as we have said in our first chapter, probably belonged to the Aryans of the

अथवा वसुदेवोऽपि प्रियकामोऽनुवृत्तवान् ।
द्रुपदे तिष्ठति कथं माधवोऽर्हति पूजनम् ॥ •

second invasion. They settled, along with the other tribes of these Aryans, in the valley of the Jumna, the valley of the Ganges and the Punjab having been already occupied by the older Indo-Aryans. They were naturally enough a race of joyous and hardy people fresh from beyond the Himalayas, and the Yadava family probably was still pastoral in its habits. It was a community of cowherds who found the most ample and the most advantageous pasture grounds on the banks of the Jumna. They settled in the district about Mathura the grass of which is even now well knowu for its rich qualities. The people were not only warlike but were also given to physical development by athletic exercises as cowherds usually are. By a strange consistence of tradition the gymnasts of Mathura have always been well-known throughout Indian history. Perhaps the good qualities of the milk which the cows of this district give in abundance have something to do with the tendencies of the people.

Of such pastoral Kshatriyas delighting in the art of developing the body, Shurasena was the first king who settled in the Mathura district the people of which were in consequence called the Shauraseni people. Among his many children was a son by name Vasudeva and a daughter Kunti whom he gave in adoption to a Bhoja prince of the same family. From Vasudeva, by his wife Devaki, was born Shrikrishna and by another wife Rohini was born Rauhineya or Balarama as he is variously called. It cannot be questioned that Krishna was the son of Devaki and Vàsudeva for the names, Vâsudeva and Devakiputra, occur in hundreds of

places in the Mahabharata. Even in one of the Upanishads Krishna is mentioned as the son of Devaki. From Kunti married to Pandu were born the Pandavas Yudhisthira, Bhima and Arjuna, and the three Pandavas and the two Vàsudevas were thus cousins, being the sons of the brother and the sister, Vasudeva and Kunti.

Whether the cousins were brought together in their early life until they met each other at the Svayamvara of Draupadi we are not told in the Mahabharata nor does the epic anywhere relate any incidents of Shrikrishna's early life with the exception of the casual mention of his having killed Kansa which event we shall shortly relate. But the epithet *Gopijanapriya* 'the beloved of the Gopis' is sometimes applied to him even in the Mahabharata and it is necessary that we should refer to his early life in Vrindavana among the maidens and the wives of cowherds. A boy of captivating beauty, enormous physical strength and prodigious intellect, it need not be wondered that Krishna in his childhood and youth was passionately loved by all who came in contact with him. But the question is whether there is any foundation for those immoralities ascribed to him in his relations with the Gopis for which the Bhâgavata (it must be added that even the Bhâgavata does not contain the name of Radha at all) and the Gitagovinda are particularly responsible. We entirely disbelieve the truth of these stories; no more mischievous though well intentioned misrepresentations have ever sullied the fair name of a great man. The pastoral Kshatriyas among whom Krishna wàs brought up were probably more unre-

strained in their social relations than the older and more civilized urban Kshatriyas, and their women were uot hampered by the *purdah* system which, as we have shown, dates from very ancient times in India. The women of *Vraja* might have been deeply fond of the young and bewitching boy prince without the slightest idea of any amorous feelings disturbing their minds. And they may have bewailed his departure from Vraja most vehemently when ambition led him away from among them to wider fields of action in his young age.

The fact that the Yadavas were pastoral in their habits is distinctly proved by the fact that Krishna's sister Subhadra when she was taken away by Arjuna is described as having put on the dress of a Gopi or female cowherd. It is impossible to explain this fact unless we believe that the whole tribe was accustomed to use this dress. The freedom with which she and other Yadava women are described as moving on the Raivataka hill in the festivities on that occasion also shows that their social relations were freer and more unhampered than among the other Kshatriyas. Krishna again when he went over to Arjuna's side is said in the Mahabharata to have given in balance for that act an army of Gopas to Duryodhana. The Gopas could have been no other than the Yadavas themselves.

It is not at all difficult to surmise when and how this perfectly innocent fondness of the Gopis for the boy prince came to be invested in later days with the degenerate amorous aspect which we find assigned to it in the Harivansha faintly, in the Bhâgavata more distinctly and in Gitagovind most empha-

tically. The religion of love or rather devotion which, as we shall see hereafter, was first preached by Shrikrishna himself became in the course of centuries thereafter distorted and in its distorted condition influenced this distortion of the incidents of his early life. We see here, as in many religious and mythological beliefs, the realisation of the immortal saying of Gibbon, "What is once rhetoric becomes by and by logic." The devotion which one feels for God, the love, the passion which a fervent man feels for the Almighty has often been likened to the love which a devoted woman feels for her lover. Man experiences in his life different kinds of love, the love of a servant for his master, of a child for its mother and father, of the parents for their child, of the husband for his wife and of the wife for her husband, of the woman in love for her lover the last being the most fervid, intense and unselfish. It is therefore natural that philosophers should often speak of the love of the human soul for the divine soul as the love of the woman in love for her lover. In fact the Greek legend of Psysche is based on this very similitude. Psyche or the human soul having lost the love of Cupid the divine soul suffers various trials and afflictions to regain the affection of her lover. In India also the Vedantic philosophers sometimes measured the divine bliss by the idea of sexual bliss. But all such ideas are based on analogy and not identity. The love which a pious man may feel for the Almighty may be likened to the love of a woman for her lover but can not be *of the same nature with it*. It is entirely a love of a far higher order than any earthly love,

and is of a far different character. But with certain over zealous yet crude minds in India, the rhetoric became by and by stern logic. An altogether distorted form of Krishna worship grew into popular favour. The devotee of Krishna, it came to be inculcated, should love him with that love which a woman feels for her lover and the love of the Gopis for Shrikrishna became distorted, in the view of these misguided people, into the love of adulteresses. The love of Radha for Krishna is now the highest embodiment of love for God but strangely enough Radha finds no place in any of the works which are reckoned as ancient authorities. This changed aspect is therefore entirely a new and unfounded creation of misguided minds. We think it unnecessary to dwell upon this subject further as we are treading on ground that is controversial; and we shall content ourselves with stating our firm conviction that there is no historical basis for the modern theory that Krishna's love for the Gopis or the latter's devotion to him partook any thing of an unhallowed character. The Mahabharata does not support this idea nor does the sublime character which the epic portrays of the man seem consistent with an immoral early life. The stem can not but be of the same quality as the tree and one can scarcely believe that that most fragrant flower the Bhagavadgita came out of a tree which was rotten at its root.

We now come to the third important event in Shrikrishna's early life *viz.*, his killing Kansa. It is extremely probable that this incident was somewhat differently described in the account of the Harivansha

as it existed before it was last recast by Sauti. In a chapter in the Sabhaparva we have a special reference to it in a speech of Shrikrishna himself. That speech is very important and deserves to be given here in extenso. Asked by Yudhisthira as to the practicablity of his desire to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice, Krishna said, "You know that the two chief branches of Kshatriyas are the descendants of Ila and Ikshvaku, the daughter and the son of Manu. Of these two branches there are one hundred families. But at this time the descendants of Yayati through Bhoja are most numerous and occupy all the directions and of these Jarasandha is the most powerful and is the lord of the whole of the middle country, those who are opposed to him having fled from that country in fear. Some years ago Kansa having expelled the Yadavas from Mathura married the two daughters of Jarasandha by name Asti and Prapti. On the strength of that alliance he oppressed his own kinsmen and rose to greatness. It was a great iniquity. We were implored by the kinsmen, old and young, of the Bhoja family seeking to be protected from his oppression. Having given the daughter of Ahuka named Sutanu to Akrura, I did this work for the Jnati or family with the help of Sankarshana. Kansa and Sunama were killed by me and Rama. Jarasandha marched on us and we fought with him for three years. He had two great athletes in his service, Hansa and Dimbhaka, unconquerable in battle and impossible to be slain with any weapon. I think the trio Hansa, Dimbhaka and Jarasandha, were enough to conquer the three worlds. In combat Hansa was struck down by Rama. Dim-

bhaka hearing from some one that Hansa was killed drowned himself in the Jumna in despair. Hansa too when he came to his senses, hearing how Dimbhaka had met his death hastened to follow his footsteps by drowning himself. Jarasandha therefore was obliged to retire and we lived in Mathura full of joy. But after a time Jarasandha came again to fight, being goaded by his daughters to avenge the death of their husband and we had to fly from Mathura with our sons and families and kinsmen. We went to the west and occupied the city of Kushasthali with the beautiful Raivataka hill in its vicinity. A fort has been built there which even women can defend. There we live now free from fear of Jarasandha on the coast of the sea. In our family there are eighteen thousand kinsmen. Ahuka has one hundred sons and we are seven *viz.*, Charudeshna with his brother, Chakradeva, Satyaki, myself, Rauhineya, Samba and Pradyumna and there are ten others *viz.* 1 Kritavarma, 2 Anadhrishti, 3 Samika, 4 Samitinjaya, 5 Kanaka, 6 Shanku, 7 Kunti, 8 and 9 the two sons of Andhaka-Bhoja and 10 the old king. Though there are so many warriors among the Vrishnis and we live happily at Dvaravati, we still sigh for the middle country. You can not hope therefore to perform the Rajasuya sacrifice so long as Jarasandha has not been conquered and Killed."

The above account gives many interesting details about the destruction of Kansa and Shrikrishna's subsequent flight from Mathura. It seems clear that Krishna was not quite a boy when he performed his first exploit in the field of politics.

Kansa, the usurper and oppressor, was killed by Krishna and Sunama his brother by Rama in pursuance of a combination of the Yadavas who invited them for the purpose from Vrindavana. It also appears that Satyaki the great warrior who fought on the side of the Pandavas was a half brother of Krishna and Kritavarma who fought on the opposite side was a cousin of his. They are also often called in the Mahabharata by the names of Shaineya and Hardikya which shows that they were the sons of Shini and Hridika who along with Ahuka were probably the brothers of Vasudeva. Two important characters in the life of Shrikrishna unconnected with the Mahabharata are Akrura and Uddhava; what the lattter's relation was with Krishna does not appear. Ahuka's daughter Sutanu is said in the above speech of Krishna to have been given to Akrura in marriage with the object of strengthening the combination against Kansa. We have searched through the Harivansha in vain for the details of this combination and it seems probable that the story of Krishna's killing Kansa underwent important modifications even in epic days.

Krishna's fame as a warrior and a statesman was now firmly established and though not himself a king he ruled over that healthy and fertile country about Dvaraka which is now called Kathiawar. Many tribes of Kshatriyas appear to have lived under him for the people about him including himself are named in the Mahabhrata by the different appellations of Yadavas, Vrishnis, Madhavas, Dasharnas, Andhaka Bhojas and so on. All these tribes how-

ever were not yet so numerous as to occupy the whole country but were probably a handful of settlers in a new country. This was probably the first colônisation of Kathiawar by the Aryans and Krishna was their leader. We find thus that Krishna was not only a warrior and a statesman but a bold leader of men who founded new settlements. We find him aiding the Pandavas also in forming a new country for themselves on the western banks of the Jumna. When after their marriage with Draupadi, Dhritarashtra acknowledged them as the sons of Pandu and assigned to them, cunningly enough, the still unreclaimed regions to the west of the Jumna as their portion, Krishna devised the bold and perhaps unscrupulous plan of burning the vast Khandava forest for purposes of reclamation, thus clearing the land at once of jnugles and jungly tribes. The two warriors, Arjuna and Krishna, carried the plan into execution and a prosperous kingdom was secured for the five Pandavas who founded therein Indraprastha which, as modern Delhi, was destined long to be the capital of the whole of India.

The friendship between the two heroes of the Mahabharata, Krishna and Arjuna, was further cemented by the marriage of Krishna's sister Subhadra with Arjuna. The story of Subhadra's marriage has been told in our first book and it brings out beautifully the manners of the time and the practical statesmanship of Krishna. While on his visit to his kinsmen at Dvaraka, Arjuna saw the fair damsel on the Raivataka hill where the Yadavas, men and women, had gone out for

festivities. Krishna saw through Arjuna's heart and advised him to seize the girl and carry her off according to Kshatriya fashion. He told Arjuna that it was impossible to say whether she would marry him at a Svayamvara or whether the parents and relatives of Subhadra would bestow her on him. He in short asked Arjuna to seize the opportunity and the girl was accordingly carried off by Arjuna. As the Yadavas could not hope to conquer Arjuna, unaided by Krishna, the marriage was eventually duly solemnised and it added a further tie of affection between Krishna and the Pandavas.

The Pandavas and the Yadavas combined were more than a match for Jarasandha who enjoyed the headship of the sovereigns of India. The bold plan was now conceived of bearding the lion in his own den and the three warriors, Krishna, Arjuna and Bhima, went by forced matches to Rajagriha and entering that capital of Jarasandha by a side gate courage-ously entered his palace and challenged him to single combat. An honourable Kshatriya, especially Jarasandha, was bound to accept the challenge and the fight between Bhima and Jarasandha with its fatal result to Jarasandha has already been described. By the bold conception and prompt execution of this plan Krishna freed the country of the co-adjutor of Kansa and another oppressor of the Kshatriyas and placed the imperial sovereignty of India in the hands of the Pandavas.

Krishna was now the recognised chief warrior and statesman in the whole of India. It appears that he was also recognised by this time as the greatest

religious preacher and philosopher. A man of giant intellect, it was impossible that his mind should have remained absorbed in worldly affairs only. He must have thought from the dawn of his thinking power on the mysteries of this universe and the relations of man to God. He had probably received the education requisite to a Kshatriya prince and been initiated into the doctrines of the Vedanta philosophy of which the Kshatriyas were particularly fond and of which they claimed to be the originators. In the Chāndogya Upanishad we find Krishna the son of Devaki as a teacher of Vedanta and as instructed by Ghora Angirasa in a particular doctrine (Prapathaka 3, Khanda 16). Besides the Vedanta there were the Sankhya and Yoya ideas not yet hardened and stereotyped indeed into rigid systems of philosophies but buoyant and expanding. There was also the more hardened and probably stiffened worship of the Vedic deities by animal sacrifices, the Karmakanda as it is called in modern days. There were other and minor ideas besides, such as that of Tapas or austerities, of gifts, of fasts. Shrikrishna was the master of all these different shades of opinions and master in the true sense of the word and not a slave. He thought out his own ideas and preached them. What these ideas were we shall presently go on to show. At what time Krishna began to be known as a philosopher and a religious preacher it is difficult to say but certain it is that he was soon revered by many as an incarnation of Vishnu and like Buddha or Jesus or even Mahomet claimed some sort of divinity for himself. He undoubtedly had that magnetic

attraction which belongs to all great religious preachers and thousands fell at his feet and adored him as a divine being. His commanding personality, his genius, his success in life all tended to strengthen his position and we believe that Shrikrishna was the first historical person who was not only worshipped in his own life-time by others as a divine being but who was conscious of a divinity in himself. There were however some, a class numerous enough to make their presence felt, who derided these pretensions of Krishna to divinity. Detractors and unbelievers have been found to oppose the path of every religious preacher and exist in every age and clime. Mahomet had to fight with them and to subdue them before he could propagate the mission he felt he had come to preach. A conflict with detractors similarly came on in Shrikrishna's life. A Rajasuya sacrifice was performed by the Pandavas to emphasize their assumption of the imperial sovereignty of India and kings from all quarters came to take part in that sacrifice and to express their acquiescence in that act. On the last day of the sacrifice when the princes assembled together for the Avabhritha bath and for leave taking, the Pandavas began the Argha-offering ceremony by honouring Shrikrishna first, than whom there was, as Bhishma said, no one in the assembly more powerful and more adorable. Shisupala rose up in protest, condemned Bhishma's opinion and upbraided the Pandavas for giving the first honour to Krishna. He reviled Krishna himself for many things and particularly for his absurd pretensions to divinity. It was a challenge on the part of the unbelievers

through their leader. The result of the challenge has been described in our first book. Krishna acted with the usual decision and promptitude of his character. Like Mahomet he accepted the challenge of his enemies and at once despatched Shishupala with a throw of his disc. Shishupala's partisans were cowed down and humbled and the supporters and followers of Shrikrishna were triumphant.

Shrikrishna's fame was now established not only as a warrior and a statesman but also as a religious preacher, a divine being, an incarnation of Vishnu himself. The theory that God incarnates himself from time to time was first preached by Shrikrishna himself; and the same idea is preached by Buddha and Christ in one form or another. The question "whether any human being can claim, without being an imposter or a fool, to be of divine origin or to be an incarnation of God" has often puzzled philosophers and Strauss in his life of Christ tries variously but vainly to solve that riddle. How is one to explain the possibility of a sane human being saying that he is a divine being? How are the words of Jesus in the fourth Gospel for instance to be explained when he says that "he is the begotten son of God, the light of the world, he who is in the Father and in whom mankind sees the Father" or what are we to say when we are told "In the beginning was the Word with God and itself God and that by this was the world created and that it subsequently became flesh in Jesus" or when Jesus appears assuring us that "he was before Abraham" and speaks of the glory which, "before the world was, he had with God."? Shrikrishna speaks of himself in the Bhagavadgita in

the same strain. "I explained this Yoga to Manu and Manu explained it to Ikshvaku" and so on. There upon Arjuna naturally enough asks of Shrikrishna "You have been born ages after Manu and how can you have explained this Yoga to Manu?" Shrikrishna replies "You and I have been born many a time but you know not your births while I know mine and yours and those of all. Though I am myself God unborn, the unchangeable Self, the lord of all beings, I become born by my Yogic powers retaining my divine nature." In still more emphatic terms Shrikrishna declares in other places in the Bhagavadgita that he is Himself God, the Supreme Soul, the creator of the universe and its destroyer. Were Krishna and Jesus deluding the world when they spoke thus or were they self-deluded? Strauss observes, "Whether a God having become man would, in his speeches, so strongly and so incessantly insist upon his divinity, whether a God become human would not find it wiser and more becoming to let his divinity shine forth more indirectly by the glorification of his humanity, nothing definite can be said as the assumption belongs solely to the province of the imagination. But a man could never, if his heart and head were sound, have uttered such speeches about himself. The speeches of Jesus in this (4th) Gospel are an uninterrupted Doxology only translated out of the second person into the first, from the form of adress to another into the utterance about a self."

The explanation which Strauss here indirectly suggests may perhaps be correct. It may be likely that these ideas were originally the ideas of the

devotees and followers of Jesus and were for the purpose of being invested with authority, subsequently put into his mouth in the first person. But a Vedanti can suggest a far better explanation without resorting to the assumption of some kind of fraud. To the Vedanti the whole world is divine; every man and beast is not only made by God but is made of God who pervades the whole universe and who runs through and is present in every thing and in every being in the whole animate and inanimate creation. Great men are great because there is aroused in them to a more or less extent a consciousness of their being Brahma. In fact the chief belief of Vedantism as summed up in the sentence तत्त्वमसि is that every human being can *realise* his identity with God by constantly poring on the thought "I am Brahma." In this way Vamadeva, says the Chhandogya Upanishad, thought he was Manu and he actually became Manu. The great religious preachers of the world rose into the consciousness that there was something divine in them. And in moments of inspiration and ecstacy, this divine consciousness in them became more or less perfect and the human consciousness was for that time submerged. In moments like these it is not impossible that great religious preachers delivered themselves as they are believed to have done and their words are attributable to neither illusion nor imposture, but were uttered through perfect truthfulness. To put it in a nutshell, to a Vedantist there is no "impassable gulf between human self-consciousness and divine self-consciousness" as there is to a Deist or a Theist.

We have perhaps digressed too far. Whatever may be the correct explanation of these utterances of Shrikrishna or Jesus or of other great religious preachers or saints, the fact can not be doubted historically that Shrikrishna preached in his own lifetime that he was an incarnation of Vishnu or the Supreme Deity and that he was also worshipped as such by hundreds and thousands of persons, especially after the overthrow of Shishupala. He was so worshipped by the Pandavas and chiefly and pre-eminently by Arjuna among them. Krishna and Arjuna are constantly spoken of together in the Mahabharata as Nara and Narayana. When Shrikrishna returned to Dvaraka after the sacrifice was over, he had to fight with several enemies and detractors many of whom were killed. The Pandavas in the meanwhile were invited by Duryodhana, goaded by jealousy for their wealth and pre-eminence, to a game at dice and were duped out of their kingdom. We have already described that disgraceful game in detail and the miracle of the clothing of Draupadi in our first book. Krishna saw the now exiled Pandavas in the forest and comforted them. When after their exile was over, the Pandavas were refused their inheritance by Duryodhana and when the contending parties collected armies for the impending struggle, Shrikrishna undertook to go on a mission of peace to the Kauravas. The man who was now the foremost man in Bharatavarsha as the greatest warrior, statesman and philosopher was received with unbounded joy and veneration. People flocked to see him on the way and in the city of Hastinapura and even Bhishma, Drona and other courtiers of

Duryodhana fell at his feet. In the assemblage of princes and learned counsellers, he advocated peace but not peace at any price. The negotiation, as has been described elsewhere, fell through owing to the obstinacy of Duryodhana and two vast armies determined to fight out this quarrel about a paltry principality eventually stood confronting each other on the plains of Kurukshetra. It was on this battlefield that Shrikrishna is said to have preached the immortal Bhagavadgita to Arjuna. Appalled by the terrible carnage of men and animals that loomed before him, with no certainty of success after all, Arjuna was seized, like so many of us in this life's battle and its many difficulties and disappointments, with the desire to renounce the world, to retire to the cloister, to pass the rest of his days in seclusion, maintaining himself on alms. Shrikrishna, the great religious preacher and philosopher, moved by pity for this sudden collaspe of Arjuna's mental condition spoke to him words of wisdom and enlightenment, and succeeded after long discussion and instruction in overcoming Arjuna's depression and stimulating him once more to action. The words have been preserved to us in the immortal Bhagavadgita and they have served to comfort and stimulate the action of countless Arjunas in succeeding ages.

To contend that the Bhagavadgita, as it exists today, contains a faithful report of all that Shrikrishna said or did on that momentous occasion is more than what is possible. But there is not the smallest doubt that that book, as it is to-day, is a consistent whole written or put together at one time and by a gifted man of genius whether he be Vyasa or Vaishampayana

(we believe it was the latter) at a very remote period in India's history, certainly centuries before Buddha lived and preached. Its connection throughout its eighteen chapters, though questioned by some thinkers, is obvious to those who study it deeply and carefully. The art and power of its great author are evident and realisable in its accents pleasing and sonorous, its words few but deep and its sentiments overpowering and hallowed. Lastly its date is vouchsafed by its language which has all the freshness of a spoken language and by its contents, which referring as they do to many and diverse philosophical opinions, do not disclose any trace whatever of Buddhistic ideas. A detailed discussion of the controversies about the authorship and the date of this great work would not interest the general reader and we shall content ourselves with the above observations leaving the detailed discussion of the subject to a note in the Appendix. It is however necessary to add that the Bhagavadgita does not belong to the last edition of the Mahabharata by Sauti but is its oldest portion, being frequently referred to with respect in the Mahabharata itself and its shlokas being repeated again and again throughout its great length.

The teaching of Shrikrishna can be none other than the teaching of the Bhagavadgita which is the oldest and the most reliable repository of it. The teaching of the Bhagavadgita has been interpreted in so many and diverse ways by great scholars and thinkers from time to time that it is really a difficult task to determine the real original gist of that great philosophical work. Every commentator

of it from the great Shankara down to modern vernacular writers such as Jnyaneshvara and Vamana, however, looked at the book with the spectacles of his own times and his own theory of ethics and philosophy. Nobody has yet looked at the Bhagavadgita from the historical point of view and tried to discover its true import, standing as it does, in the development of philosophical thought, midway between the Upanishads on the one hand and Buddhism and the Vedanta-sutras which are even later than Buddhism, on the other. We shall make an attempt of the kind, duly honouring, in the consciousness of our humble powers, those great and revered thinkers who have illuminated the subject from time to time.

The Bhagavadgita as we have just said opens with a description of the sudden mental callaspe of Arjuna at the sight of venerable elders and dear friends and relatives arrayed before him ready to lay down their lives to settle the dispute about a paltry principality. He would rather beg and live on alms than slay those dear and respected persons for the sake of even the kingdom of the three worlds. Shrikrishna preached the Gita to correct him of this revulsion from the performance of duty and having explained to him various subjects and having dispelled his doubts asked in the end, "Is your hallucination gone? Are you ready to fight?" and Arjuna replied "I will do your command, for my doubts have been dispelled and I have regained myself." The obvious gist of the Gita from this beginning and this end like the reasoning of a proposition of Euclid is to impress upon man the necessity of doing his duty un-

dismayed by the difficulties and unswayed by the temptations of this life. This is the *summum dictum* of the Bhagavadgita and this is what is inculcated in every chapter of it from different points of view. To act according to one's own idea of what is right, regardless of its consequences to himself or to others, that is the primary duty of man and not to fly from the difficulties, the despondencies of this world—the most practical yet noble truth that was ever inculcated by an ethical philosopher.

For where can a man fly to? Can he escape out of his environment? Can he go out of this world of five elements? And suppose he can do so, can he escape from himself, from his own mind which carries within itself a world of worry and vexation? Even supposing that he can quiet this untameable monster of a mind, even supposing that a man can stop and sap the working of all his voluntary nerves, can he stop the working of the involuntary ones? Can he stop breathing, feeling hunger or the necessity for evacuation? Go where you will and do what you like, a man must work and will be made to work by the operation of the impulses and the tendencies which have been implanted in him by nature.* Renunciation is therefore impossible and the only renunciation that is possible is the giving up of the proud idea that one's action must be followed by a particular result. The results of actions are in the hands of God, the Dispenser of all good and evil and man can only work, can only do his duty, can only act as righteousness requires him to act; and he should do and act accordingly. This is the pith of

* कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥

Shrikrishna's teaching in the Bhagavadgita, all else goes in support of it.

Let us examine a little more deeply into the historical sequence of this idea. The ancient Aryans who lived beyond the Indus and whose thoughts and feelings have been preserved to us in the Mantra portion of the Rigveda were a race of men, joyous in spirit and full of the desire to enjoy the blessings of this world. They sang lusty songs in praise of the Vedic deities and asked of them young damsels, strong steeds and valiant sons. Intoxicated themselves with the invigorating juice of Soma, they poured out libations of the same juice to their gods and implored them to join them in their feasts. Eating beef themselves, they offered bulls in sacrifice to their gods by hundreds and thousands. Of course the worship of the deity by burnt offerings, especially of the flesh of oxen killed for the purpose, was the primeval worship of all races in the world; fcr primeval man after all made his Lord in his own image and thought that God liked beef as much as he himself. Such was the old worship of the Indo-Aryans of which we have any historical knowledge. When the Aryans settled in the plains of the Punjab and the Gangetic valley there was a change in them. The ascetic spirit which they probably had brought with them from beyond the Indus grew upon them slowly. Philosophical thought impressed upon them the emptiness of all worldly pleasures. The mortification of the flesh gradually became more noble and manly than the pampering of it. These are the dominating features of their philosophical specula-

tions as may be gathered from the Upanishads. Tapas became supreme and the gods and even the all-pervading Brahma appeared to perform Tapas,* as in the preceding period they were thought to be performing a sacrifice.† To give up the world and all the worldly pursuits came to be looked upon as the surest way of attaining to absolution.‡ Worldly greatness was no greatness at all. Real greatness lay in that a man desired nothing. For to desire some thing was to want some thing, to want something was to be little.§ Whereas the object of the Vedic Aryans was to attain to the height of human happiness *viz.* as the Upanishads put it to be rich to be strong and to be healthy, the goal of the Rishis of the Upanishads was to attain to the state of the learned man who desires nothing.¶ Renunciation of the world, retirement into the forest, a life of calm seclusion, the extinguishment of all desires these were the leading sentiments of the Vedantic philosophers as well as those philosophers who started the cognate ideas of Sankhya and Yoga.

These opposite inclinations have alternately

* सोऽकामयत बहुस्यां प्रजायेयेति । स तपोऽतप्यत । स तपस्तप्त्वा । इदं सर्वमसृजत ॥ तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद् ब्रह्मानंदवल्ली

† See पुरुषसूक्त

‡ पुत्रैषणायाश्च वित्तैषणायाश्च लोकैषणायाश्च व्युत्थायाथ भिक्षाचर्यं चरन्ति ॥ बृहदारण्य० अ० ६ ब्रा० ४

§ यत्र नान्यत्पश्यति नान्यच्छृणोति नान्यद्विजानाति स भूमाथ यत्रान्यत्पश्यत्यन्यच्छृणोत्यन्यद्विजानाति तदल्पं यो वै भूमा तदमृतमथ यदल्पं तन्मर्त्यं । छांदो० प्रपा० ७ ख० २४

See also गोअश्वं महिमेत्याचक्षते हस्तिहिरण्यं दासभार्यं क्षेत्राण्यायतनानीति नाहमेवं ब्रवीमि ॥ Ditto

¶ आशिष्ठो द्रढिष्ठो बलिष्ठः । and श्रोत्रियस्य चाकामहतस्य । तैत्ति०

swayed the human breast in all countries. Pravritti and Nivritti as the Indian philosophers call them appear in other countries under the forms of Epicurianism and Stoicism, Monasticism and Protestantism. It is interesting to mark the swinging of the popular mind as of a pendulum between the two extreme points of these feelings in the history of civilised nations. In Greece the free and joyous spirit of the Homeric heroes gradually gave way before the wave of asceticism of which Pythagoras was perhaps the pioneer. To abstain from flesh and from marriage were considered to be holy by these Pythagoreans. There is something peculiarly fascinating in the condition of a devotee who conquers all his passions; for where the common run of mankind would fall to enjoyment, the asectic seems to possess a peculiar power as he resists all temptations. The conqueror is always an object of admiration and the conqueror of that most difficult region, the human mind, has always excited the greatest admiration and respect. Socrates was of an ascetic turn of mind and the Stoicism of Diogenes was the farthest point in the swing of the pendulum. There was a turn, by the very laws of nature, of the human mind towards the other side and Epicurus was its exponent. The Romans and the Greeks soon abused Epicurianism and plunged in sensual and wordly pleasures, went to the opposite extreme. A rebound set in among the later Romans and the early Christians. The ascetic spirit of the Christian religion captivated the popular mind and greatly assisted its spread in the Roman Empire.

But the ascetic spirit of the Christianity of the

3rd century A.D. did not belong to the nature of its founder. In fact the tendency of Christ's teaching was to oppose and condemn the ascetic spirit which had seized the Jewish mind. The Jews, then, considered it requisite for the purification and elevation of the people to resort to all sorts of bodily mortification and in particular, to frequent fasting and abstinence from wine and the pleasures of the world. "Compared with the system of Levitical law such asceticism could only appear to Jesus, as another mode of formalising religion, a new danger of wandering away from the moral object."* The teaching of the great Savior was thus opposped to the ascetic practices of the Pharisees and even of John the Baptist. Gradually, however, monasticism stole in upon Christianity and admiration of the monastic life of the Christian saints contributed as much to the spread of their religion among the Romans and the Greeks whose own lives had become morally degenerate, as any other cause. This monastic spirit of Christianity grew stronger and stronger till it became nauseous and empty though it may be said that it lasted long, indeed for centuries, before there was a revolution in the popular feeling. It was supplanted at last by Protestantism under the teaching and guidance of Luther.

In India, Shrikrishna was the first to make a protest against the ascetic spirit which had seized the Aryans of India in the days of the Upanishads and the rise and growth of the Sankhya and Yoga philosophies. It was not in renunciation of the world or worldly pleasures, so preached Krishna, that the surest way of

* Life of Christ by Strunss'.

attaining to salvation lay; neither did the unbridled enjoyment of pleasures assist the man who sought to better his condition. He laid down the principle of the golden mean in the Bhagavadgita. To fly from the pleasures of the world was as impossible as to plunge into them headlong was injurious. "The Yogi who keeps his food and his sexual pleasure under well regulated restraint and who performs actions under similar conditions, whose sleep and wakefulness are equally well regulated, enjoys absence of pain."* Of course he does not deny the efficacy of Yoga which is concerned with the stilling of the mind. But while accepting all that Yoga taught Shrikrishna denied that Yoya meant or required the renunciation of all action or of all exercise of the functions of the senses. That was, he pointed out, an impossibility and what man could do was only to regulate and restrain his conduct by the rules of morality or, which is the same thing in India, religion. Shrikrishna's attitude on this point may well be understood from the one sentence धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ: "I am desire in created beings unopposed to the dictates of religion."

Such was the view which Shrikrishna preached in opposition to the prevailing ascetic tendencies and it is not to be wondered that he acted up to his view in his own personal conduct. These Epicurean sentiments were however bound in the course of centuries to be exaggerated and misrepresented and the incidents of his life

* युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगोभवति दुःखहा ॥

were bound to be distorted in response. While we know as a matter of fact that the life which Epicurus lived in his garden at Athens was pure and simple, popular report soon misrepresented the state of affairs. Friends and foes alike put on Epicureansim an aspect of personal gratification unrelieved by higher or more spiritual pleasure. Similarly in Shrikrishna's case, things came to be misrepresented by friends and foes alike. If he had really married many wives their number came to be exaggerated to sixteen thousand. If in his boyhood he had inspired attachment among the young damsels with whom he danced and played, later ideas represented these girls and women as adulteresses. It is surely something exasperatingly inconsistent when those who recite Shrikrishna's Bhagavadgita in which his own utterances declare that he *identifies himself with sexual desire not opposed to morality,* should themselves believe that Shrikrishna indulged in amours with the Gopis of Vrindavana which in others would at once be set down as deeply irreligious.

To return to the thread of our argument, Shrikrishna evidently tries in the Bhagavadgita to reconcile the Pravritti of the Vedas with the Nivritti of the Upanishads and to inculcate the doctrine that man's true duty lies neither in the unregulated and unrestrained indulgence of the senses nor in their entire and impossible suppression but in the golden mean between the two. This protest against asceticism was bound to be carried to the farthest extreme of the swing of the pendulum and the natural rebound to the opposite view came on in the rise of

Jainism and Buddhism. Both these religions which rose about the same time extol the ascetic ideal of life. The renunciation of Buddha and the institution by him of the holy order of Bhikshus, whereas formerly there was no constituted order of congregated ascetics but only individual Sanyasis who lived singly, were a tribute paid at the feet of asceticism. The Jains too had their institution of ascetics and went so far further as to represent their Tirthankaras as perfectly naked without the smallest rag to cover their body or to attach their mind to any earthly thing. They also believed in the efficacy of fast and instituted a fast of 42 days which even their lay brethren observe in individual cases down to this day.

The revulsion of feeling from such asceticism was bound to come in time and it did come. We shall not enter into lengthy details but it will be sufficient to remark that Buddhism and Jainism were followed by a resuscitation of the Karmakanda and Vedic sacrifices. This again gave way to the returning wave of Nivritti which was the guiding principle of Shankara's teaching in the 8th century A. D. Shankara's teaching remained supreme till it was supplanted by the wave of Pravritti again under Madhva, Vallabha and others who revived or rather adopted Krishna-worship in a changed and perhaps debased form between the 12th and 15th centuries of the Christian era.

The above short survey of the successive rise and fall of the ascetic spirit among the Aryans of the East and the West will enable us to understand the historical sequence of Shrikrishna's preaching in the

Bhagavadgita. It was impossible for man to cease to work in this world and man was bound to work and act as duty or the sense of righteousness dictated; that was the essence of his teaching. He did not or could not deny what previous philosophers had thought or done. He allowed the Vedic sacrifice, the Vedantic renunciation, the Sankhya insistence on knowledge of Nature's truth, the Yogic doctrine of the conquest of the mind and the senses. He explained all these beliefs and the immortality of the soul which underlay every one of them. He reconciled them with his own new preaching *viz.* that man was bound to act and act righteously. As Jesus admitted the truth of all that Moses and Abraham had said and done, as Mahomet admitted the sanctity of all those prophets including Jesus who had gone before him, Shrikrishna accepted the truth and the efficacy of what previous thinkers had said and laid down. He however infused a new spirit in them and reconciled them with his own doctrine of righteous action. Luther protested only against the abuse of Christ's preaching and denounced monasticism as an imposture. Similarly Shrikrishna protested against the abuse of Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga and their internecine fight and roused the people to a sense of the necessity of action—action dictated by Dharma or duty. Here we see a peculiar affinity between the teaching of Shrikrishna and the practical and active spirit of modern civilisation.

But there was some thing more in Shrikrishna's preaching than what modern civilization is prepared to accept. He preached not only action, and righteous action but righteous action without the clinging

to the proud notion that it is bound to succeed. Modern thought is probably not prepared to believe in the existence of the factor of what ordinary people would call luck or chance, in the happening of events. The never ending controversy about effort and luck is noticed in the Bhagavadgita and solved by holding that both factors exist and must be taken into account. "In the happening of events five factors come in *viz.*, place, actor, instruments, action and the fifth here is chance."* An event is thus the result of all the five factors put together. The above doctrine to our mind contains the truest solution of the controversy between effort and luck. A historian of the last great naval battle of Tsushima might well contend that the place for fighting was well chosen by the Japanese, that the Japanese were a better disciplined set of naval fighters, that their ships and cannons were more powerful, that they did deeds of valour and their commander displayed consummate skill. The philosopher all the same must add the factor of luck, for it may at least be said that every thing favoured the Japanese on that eventful day and that nothing untoward happened to thwart or prevent the superiority of their forces from having its due effect. The greatest commanders have never denied the element of chance among the causes of success or failure. Let it be remembered that the happening of an unforeseen event does not mean that that event happens without a cause preceding it, in other

* अधिष्ठानं तथा कर्ता करणं च पृथग्विधम् ।
विविधाश्च पृथक्चेष्टा दैवं चैवात्र पञ्चमम् ॥

The word Daiva in this shloka is differently interpreted by Shankara as meaning Divinity but the result to our mind comes to the same thing.

words that it is a pure intervention of God. We are only justified in looking upon it as a god-send in the sense that we could not calculate upon it beforehand. In short it is only the concomitance of our actions and the happening of events which are without our control, that we designate by the word chance or luck, solely from the standpoint of our success or failure. A hurricane or a gale is always the result of causes which are at work independently of the human will; but when a hurricane happens to distract and disperse the Spanish Armada and to assist the British fleet in its work of destruction we call it luck or good fortune.

But the question arises--the question that was asked by Arjuna himself,--if it is not certain, that Arjuna even though fighting for a righteous cause will win, where is the incentive to action, to even righteous action? If we are not sure that our good deeds will be rewarded, virtue loses its greatest recommendation. This is one of the knottiest ethical problems that have vexed philosophers, the question why good deeds are not always followed by good results, why the sinful sometimes prosper in this world while the virtuous suffer. The doctrine preached by Shrikrishna is the noblest and is identical with that of the greatest thinkers of the world. Love virtue for virtue's sake and without any reference to its rewards or results. "Regardless of consequences and without placing one's heart on success or failure one must do one's duty at all times, for in acting thus man attains to the highest beatitude."* The third

* तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर ।
असक्तो ह्याचरन् कर्म परमाप्नोति पूरुषः ॥

chapter of the Bhagavadgita winds up the disquisition with the memorable line स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः This is the Karmayoga of Shrikrishna, the doctrine of action according to the dictates of duty, regardless of the thought as to the result that may ensue, which he extols to the skies and which he says he first preached to Vivasvan, who preached it to Manu and so on and which being forgotten by men he preaches again to Arjuna.

Noble as this principle of conduct is, it is nobler still when coupled with another condition which Shrikrishna adds and which we now go on to propound. In the same third chapter Shrikrishna says to Arjuna "Dedicating all your actions to me, with your mind fixed on the Eternal Soul, bereft of every desire for the fruit to come and devoid of all selfishness, fight free from anxiety."* To do each action under the firm belief that we are acting under the will of God and to dedicate it to Him who prompts it, that is what Shrikrishna asks Arjuna to do in addition to his acting as duty dictates and without reference to what result may follow. That is a state of mind which may or may not recommend itself to modern thinkers but this reliance on God is the staunchest support to righteous action in this world.

And here we must first elucidate how God is conceived in the philosophy of the Bhagavadgita. On this point as on the former the philosophy of Shrikrishna appears to be a step further in development from the idea of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Vedic Rishis were probably polytheistic, worship-

* मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि सन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥

ping many and independent deities personifying mostly the forces and the phenomena of nature. It is true that they often rise into sublime ideas about one God, the Creator of the universe, ideas which imperceptibly glided into the ideas of the Upanishads, ideas which Max Muller sometimes calls by the name of henotheism. But the Vedic hymns usually sing the praises of Indra and Varuna, Agni and Soma, the Sun and the Dawn each having a separate sphere of influence of his own. The Rishis of the Upanishads gradually evolved pantheistic ideas of the sublimest order. The all-pervading and all-powerful Brahma which is the material as well as the instrumental cause of the universe was first conceived by the Vedantic philosophers and elucidated by them eloquently and vividly in those philosophic disquisitions of the Upanishads which will for ever be the admiration of all thinking men. It may indeed be questioned whether the doctrine of God can ever be put in a more consistent shape or in a manner which can better sustain the onslought of the modern development of the physical sciences. As we have already said, Shrikrishna himself was a Vedantic philosopher and pupil, but either he was not quite satisfied with the Vedantic doctrines or he thought them too abstruse for mankind in general. He therefore preached pure Theism or rather Monotheism, the doctrine of a personal God who creates, sustains and destroys the universe and who is the lord of it, not in the sense that he created the world with its laws and left it to itself, but as the actual governor of it who rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. Of all modern Theistic systems

the one propounded in the Bhagavadgita is thus the oldest. The system is developed and explained in the 7th to the 12th chapters of it, unquestionably as we have said before, with reference to the chief point before him *viz.*, whether Arjuna should fight or not. Doubtless the idea of a personal God who is the creator and the ruler of this universe and who justly and wisely governs it, protecting the poor, aiding the righteous and punishing the wicked is one which can easily be grasped by ordinary men and which powerfully appeals to their minds. But to connect it satisfactorily with the doctrine of Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga which Shrikrishna did not categorically deny, to reconcile it with those various doubts and difficulties which naturally arise in the philosophic breast was the chief thing which Shrikrishna had to do before he could perfect his doctrine. Let us see how he does it in the chapters of the Bhagavadgita above noted.

The Vedantists are monists as is well known and that idea Shrikrishna also accepted. That God is the material cause of the universe is as much taught by the Upanishads as by the Bhagavadgita. In the beginning of the 7th chapter we are told that the five elements earth, water, fire, wind and ether with mind, intelligence and egoism form the inanimate world while life or soul forms the animate world; these together compose the whole world and are both born of and are dissolved in the one God (myself). God runs through all these as the thread of a rosary runs though all its beads. "He is the wateriness of water," Shrikrishna goes on to explain, "the light of the sun and

the moon, the Om of the Vedas, the heat of fire, the seed of all beings, the strength of strong men divested of lust or greed, the sexual desire in beings not opposed to morality."* It may perhaps be said that Shrikrishna tries here as it were to separate the evil from the good and identify himself with the good only, as is done in all Theisms wherein a Satan or an Ahriman is responsible for the evil that exists in the world. But he adds, adopting the threefold division of things, made by the Sankhyas *viz.*, the good सत्व the passinate रज ; and the evil, तम : that all good (सात्विक) mixed (राजस) and bad (तामस) aspects proceed from him. He is not in them though they are in him. A world of philosophcial discussion is centred in that short but deep sentence (नत्वहं तेषु, ते मयि). The great Shankara and his followers bring in here their Vivartavada theory to explain it and curiously enough the shlokas which follow contain a reference to the Daivi Maya of God which only those who know Vasudeva truly and fully are able to see through. We will not venture any opinion as to whether the Mayavada so ably propounded by Shankara is as old as Shrikrishna himself. It is sufficient to remark that the identification of the world with Vasudeva is as completely admitted by Shrikrishna, as by the Upanishads. "The knowing man who looks upon the whole world as Vasudeva reaches me after many lives. That high-souled individual is very rare."†

* बलं बलवतामस्मि कामरागविवर्जितम् ।
धर्माविरुद्धो भूतेषु कामोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥

† बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते ।
वासुदेवः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥

Shrikrishna under this view has no difficulty in showing that all other gods are none but himself and those who worship different gods worship but the one and true God under a misguided view. But even their devotion leads eventually to devotion to Him, though their present fruit is limited and meritorious men at the end of their sins, worship Vasudeva as the true God.

The 7th chapter closes with two shlokas which as in most other chapters, suggest and introduce the next chapter and we are again introduced to the doctrines of the Vedanta and the Karma philosophies as reconciled with the doctrine of a personal God preached by Shrikrishna. Brahma, Adhyatma, Adhibhuta and Adhidaiva are terms often used in the Upanishads and the idea is familiar to the Vedantis that a man's soul is born in another life the nature of which is determined by his last thoughts.* Shrikrishna accepts all these ideas and applies them to his own theory. He declares that the man who pronounces Om at the time of his death *with his thought fixed on Vasudeva*† the Supreme God, attains to the highest goal. What that highest or further goal is Shrikrishna goes on to explain. Every being in this world beginning even with Brahmâ or the creator is born again; there is thus constant creation and re-creation going on. A beautiful simile is used in the Bhagavadgita to bring home to the reader this unceasing formation and re-formation in this world. 'As the world slowly

* यथा क्रतुरस्मिन् लोके पुरुषो भवति तथेतः प्रेत्य भवति । छांदोग्य०

† ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति त्यजन् देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥

becomes visible when the night ceases and the day advances, so are differentiated things born from the undifferentiated and as the world becomes slowly invisible at the end of the day and the fall of the night so do differentiated things merge in the undifferentiated one when the world is dissolved.* There is an entity which lies even beyond that undifferentiated thing which is unchanging and eternal and which constitutes that final goal. "That is my abode" says Shrikrishna " where having arrived one does not return. That highest being can only be reached by devotion never directed towards another.—He within whom all beings are and who has spread all this universe." The souls of men according to Vedantis progress along two different paths, the bright path and the dark path. Shrikrishna accepts and explains them. The Brahmavid goes to Brahma, who departs this world in the Uttarayana six months, going by Agni and by day and in the bright half of the month, while the Yogi who dies in the Dakhinayana six months and goes by Dhuma, at night and the dark half of the month reaches the moon and returns. But adds Shrikrishna, the Yogi who knows these bright and dark paths of return and non-return is not puzzled and therefore he is always absorbed in Yoga. He knows that the fruit of learning the Vedas, of sacrificing, of austerities, of gifts has after all an end and therefore goes towards the highest goal.

The ninth chapter is called the Rajavidya Rajaguhya chapter and contains the essence of Shri-

* अव्यक्ताद्व्यक्तयः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यहरागमे ।
रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ॥

krishna's new teaching about God. He is more emphatic here and declares that his doctrine is easy, holy and something that is tangible and eternal.* "Those who do not believe in this religion do not reach me and are thrown back into the wheel of birth and death. I have unfolded this universe with my undifferentiated body. All beings exist in me *i.e.* by me and I am not in them; and yet the beings are not in me (Here is a contradiction which Shankara explains by stating that God, the unapproachable, can not be the basis of any thing.) All these things at the end of Kalpa return to my nature and I evolve them again at the beginning of Kalpa. Thus is the world created again and again, yet these acts do not bind me as I stand aloof like a stranger (There is a contradiction again ; in all philosophies, it must be remembered, such apparently contradictory terms are unavoidable as for instance 'being' and 'not being' applied together by the Neoplatonists to matter.) The Prakriti *superimposed* by me creates the moveable and immoveable world, which for this reason changes. Fools slight me thinking me a mortal being, ignorant of my greatness as the great lord of all beings but other high-souled men knowing me to be the imperishable Creator of the universe worship me. They sing my praises always and bow to me with devotion. Others please me by the sacrifice of knowledge. I am the great and the ordinary sacrifice, I am the Svadha and the herbs. I am the Mantra and I am the clarified butter. I am the fire and I am the oblation thrown into it. I am the father of the world and

* प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं सुसुखं कर्तुमव्ययम्

the mother and the creator, the grand-father the holiest knowable thing. I am Omkara, I am the Rigveda, the Samaveda, the Yajurveda. Men learned in the three Vedas and drinkers of Soma, with their sins purified, having sacrificed *to me* ask heaven of me. Having enjoyed the fruit in heaven for a certain time, when their merit is over they are reborn in the mortal world. But those who worship me without thought of another—I take care of their welfare. Those who worship gods go to gods, those who worship me come to me. I enjoy whatever little offering such as a leaf, a fruit, a flower or even water that a man offers me with devotion. Whatever you do or sacrifice or enjoy or give in charity, or whatever penance you perform, dedicate it to me; you will in this way be relieved of all bonds of actions resulting in good or bad fruits and with your heart fixed on me, giving up all ties, will reach me free from all cares. I am even-handed to all, none is my enemy or my friend; but he who worships me with devotion lives in me and I live in him."

We have thought it fit to quote these shlokas of the 9th chapter in detail as they give the essence of Shrikrishna's new Theistic philosophy. He calles it Rajavidya and Rajaguhya meaning not the Vidya of princes but the princely or highest knowledge, the princely or highest esoteric doctrine. It is also easy to understand. Like the Vedantic idea, God is here both the creator and the material of the universe but yet the world is not in Him. Like the Sankhya idea the Prakriti is the immediate creator of the world yet Prakriti is overladen by Him. He is the creator and yet is born as man.

The world is swayed by its own forces and yet they are wielded by Him. All forms of religious worship are directed to Him and yet they are inferior to his worship by devotion. The Vedic sacrificers go to heaven no doubt but after a time they fall from their high position. All other worship in short has a fruit which is not everlasting including even the worship of the Vedic deities by the Vedic Mantras. Lastly those who worship him with devotion need have no care for themselves nor trouble themselves with making those costly and rich preparations which Vedic sacrifice as then developed required but a mere handful of leaves or flowers are sufficient and are appreciated by God if but offered with true devotion. Shrikrishna in conclusion shows the bearing of his new doctrine of God upon his doctrine of action, the chief object of preaching the Bhagavadgita, by directing that all actions should be dedicated to Him, thus relieving the actor of all responsibility for the good or evil results thereof. He teaches in short that man must do what his duty calls upon him to do regardless of consequences which do not lie in his hands, dedicating, with a firm devotion to the one God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, all such actions to that ruler.

The greatest merit of this new religion of love or devotion which Shrikrishna preached was that it rose superior to all distinctions of caste or sex. The door of the implicit faith in, and unswerving devotion to, the Almighty was equally open and equally efficacious for all. The Vedic Rishis and the Vedantic philosophers could not bring themselves to entertain the notion that the non-

Aryans could join them in their prayers to their Aryan deities or in their sumptuous and stately sacrifices to Indra or Soma. The Brahmin had already become the sole instrument and medium of Vedic sacrifice and the more important sacrifices such as the Ashvamedha and the like were reserved for Kshatriyas, nay, reigning princes alone. The descendants of the Rishis of the Upanishads who retired to the forest and claimed for meditation on Brahma the same efficacy as Ashvamedha were probably of opinion that the Dvijas or Aryans only could go into the fourth Ashrama and attain to absolution, though the Chhandogya Upanishad clearly mentions the case of a Shudra prince who bribed a Brahmin sage to teach him the Vedantic doctrine. We may believe that the attitude of the Aryan sages like that of the Jewish Rabbis was opposed to other and heathen nations worshipping their peculiar God in their peculiar modes. Strangely enough at so remote a time in antiquity and in the circumstances such as those which surrounded him, Shrikrishna like Jesus rose superior to these prejudices, and equally welcomed all to the benefits of his new religion of love. The shlokas which conclude the 9th Chapter are not only inestimable for their high sentiment of universal brotherhood but are also remarkable for their historical importance. "Those who rely on me be they born in ever so low a caste or be they women or Shudras or Vaishyas will reach the highest goal. What need then to speak of holy Brahmins and devout Rajarshis." This division clearly shows that the former were consi-

dered by the descendants of the Vedic Rishis as incapable of reaching the highest goal; while the latter, the holy Brahmins and the well conducted Kshatriyas were looked upon as the only persons who were fitted to go there. But before the one personal God of Shrikrishna, the whole world was alike and he who adored Him with implicit faith and love, of a truth went to the highest goal *viz.*, unity with God himself.

This is the noblest feature of the new religion of love preached by Shrikrishna and it unquestionably places him among the greatest religious preachers of the world. The ideas of the equality and the fraternity of the human race are the commonplace talk of modern civilization but civilization has yet to rise to this noble sentiment in reality. It is an empty boast yet and we can realise the immense difficulty of man's rising up to that high altruistic ideal, when we find that after nineteen centuries of the profession of the Christian faith, the Aryan nations of the west are still full of the pride of race. When the white Yankee lynches a Negro for aspiring to an equality with him by making love to a white woman, when the white Briton imposes a poll tax on the black Zulu, remember, also a Christian, and devastates his country for rising in rebellion against such a poll tax, we are painfully conscious of the fact that human nature after all is still uncivilised. The Brahmin or the Kshatriya of India equally with his Aryan brother of the west, in the pride of blood, still declines to touch the Chandala or to believe that he can attain to absolution though he professes outwardly to adore Shrikrishna as an in-

carnation of God and reveres the Bhagavadgita as a sacred book,—that Bhagavadgita which unequivocally preaches the equality of all before the great God, the Creator of all. In fine in rare men alone like Shrikrishna or Jesus, does the love of humanity really rise into a hallowed conviction and by their action in consonance with their preaching they enlist the sympathy and command the respect of all. We need not therefore wonder why Shrikrishna was not only universally worshipped in his own lifetime but has ever since become the popular god in the whole of India.

We will briefly notice the remaining chapters of the Bhagavadgita. Chapter 10 gives the Vibhutis of God, *i. e.*, the things or persons wherein we feel and realise His presence more vividly than in others though as the last shloka in the chapter states, the whole world is pervaded by only a portion of Him.* The next chapter (11th) contains a description of the Vishvarupa of God shown by Shrikrishna to Arjuna and no revelation or sacred teaching is without its complement of a miracle. The 12th chapter reiterates the efficacy, the superior efficacy, of devotion and love to all other modes of worshipping the Supreme Being. These six chapters from the 7th to the 12th contain, as we have said, Shrikrishna's doctrine of a personal God and the mode of worshipping him by devotion and love, a mode open to men and women of all castes and races alike. In the following chapters there is an exposition of the Sankhya doctrine of Prakriti, Purusha and the three qualities which are the cause of all the inequality

* विष्टभ्याहमिदं कृत्स्नमेकांशेन स्थितो जगत्।

in this world. The first chapter *viz.*, the 13th, contains in brief an exposition of the oldest form of the Sankhya doctrine, the 24 Tattvas being enumerated by name though not by number. The five elements with Ahankara, Buddhi and Avyakta, and the 11 senses and the five objects of sense make the 24 elements of the Sankhyas though they are sometimes differently enumerated in other places in the Mahabharata *e.g*, in the very interesting 307th chapter of the Shantiparva. Love and hate, pleasure and pain, combination and sensibility and life and steadiness, are probably the Vikaras but they are not, so far as we can remember, mentioned in any other place in the Mahabharata; so also is the definition of Jnyana or Knowledge a peculiar and unique one. It is more the definition of a philosopher's mind than any thing else; we find therein, however, unswerving devotion to Vasudeva or God which, added to the excellences of Yoga and Sankhya, would constitute real knowledge. Another important item in this definition of Knowledge is Ahinsa or the prohibition of slaughter. Shrikrisha's attitude on this point will be specially noticed hereafter. In the 14th chapter we have a description of the nature and working of the three Gunas. While these two chapters are a mere exposition of the doctrine of Sankhya, the 15th contains Shrikrishna's own theory and idea superimposed on that of the Sankhyas. It is an important and interesting chapter wherein we have an explanation of the word Purushottama, an entity probably beyond the Purusha of the Sankhyas. The 16th chapter contains also Shrikrishna's own idea and explains the

differences of temperaments on another theroy *viz.*, the Asuri and the Daivi Sampat, the dualism of other philosophers. We find no trace of it hereafter in the Mahabharata wherein the doctrine of the three Gunas is firmly established and solely referred to. The description of the Asura frame of mind is one of the most forcible and eloquent descriptions in the Bhagavadgita and for that matter in the whole Mahabharata typifying the material as opposed to the spiritual tendencies of any age. This opposition between the Asura and Daivi Sampat is an older idea and is to be found in various forms in the Upanishads. The conflict between Asuras and Devas has already become the conflict between the evil and the good forces of nature, and later on between the evil and the good proclivities of the human mind. What is good and what is evil is a question, however, that did not admit of much discussion and the proposition laid down in the end of this chapter is the simple one that a man ought to act according as law or Shastra dictates and not according to the promptings of his materialistic tendencies or of Kama, Krodha and Lobha.

The seventeenth chapter relates to the question whether those who act contrary to the rules of the Shatras and yet with the best of motives and with proper devotion, earn any merit or not and we have a description of the three kinds of Shraddhâ based on the three Gunas. The three kinds of sacrifices, gifts and austerities dominated by these Gunas are also here described in details which are of everlasting application and interest. Lastly in the 18th chapter we have the same question as was

asked in the beginning as to what Sanyasa or Tyaga or refraining from all actions really was. And in golden lines simple yet deep are explained the results of the previous discussion. To cease to work is physically impossible; to act without being chained to the fruit is really what is possible and is tantamount to ceasing to act. For results are brought about by five factors of which one and that, the last is Daiva. "The man therefore who thinks foolishly that he alone has achieved a certain thing does not see aright. Moreover a man who relying on me does whatever action he is called upon to do, by my favour reaches the imperishable highest goal. Dedicating all your actions to me by your heart, be always with your heart fixed on me. If you do so, by my favour you will surmount all difficulties. But if you do not hear me, you will be ruined. Nay more, you think in your pride that you will not fight, but your nature after all will compel you to fight. God lives in the heart of all beings, moving them like machines. Seek refuge in Him and you will obtain firmness of mind and go to the highest goal by His favour. This is the most secret knowledge which I have told you and considering this do as you think best. And hear me again. I will tell you the secret of all secrets. Have your mind fixed on me (if you perform Yoga), be devoted to me (if you follow the religion of love and devotion), sacrifice to me (if you follow Vedic sacrifice); even bow to me (if you do not do these) and I swear in any one of these cases you will reach me. Give up the different paths of religion and seek refuge in me. And be not anxious, I will free you

from all sins. Have you followed me attentively and are your doubts removed?" Arjuna replied "I am free from all doubts and will do your bidding." Such was the thrilling conversation between Shrikrishna and Arjuna, says Sanjaya, a conversation "the more he remembers, the more ecstatic he becomes"—an encomium passed on the Bhagavadgita which is fully and eternally deserved.

This is the teaching of the Bhagavadgita, that priceless work on ethics, philosophy and religion combined, interpreted historically, and the life of Shrikrishna substantiates the truth of this interpretation in a remarkable degree. He was himself for peace and went to advocate it, but he did not want it at any price. When the actual war began, his cool head and resourceful mind enabled the Pandavas to emerge successfully out of that bloodiest battle in the history of India if not of the world. It is sometimes suggested that Shrikrishna's policy during the war was of a Machiavellian character, that he did not scruple to adopt any means for the attainment of his end.* Even supposing the details of the fight as given in the Mahabharata to be historical, we cannot but forget that the maxim, "Every thing is fair in war" has been accepted even by the most civilised nations of modern times. Shrikrishna's reply to Karna when the latter requested Arjuna to respect the rules of fair fight and not assail him while he raised the wheel of his chariot which had gone down

* The ruse with which Drona was made despondent and killed in that condition, especially the advice which Krishna gave to Yudhishthira to utter a falsehood are often cited against Shrikrishna's high ideal. The immortal poet skilfully introduces here a rancourous dialogue between Arjuna, Dhristadyumna and Yudhishthira as to the

into a ditch, is memorable. "You spurned Dharma in the council hall when Draupadi was dragged by Duhshasana by the hair and you now wish Arjuna to respect Dharma on the battle-field."

Having overcome all obstacles and spared from the night massacre by Ashvatthama by accident, the triumphant Pandavas went to Hastinapura and were placed on the Imperial throne of India by Shrikrishna, their greatest friend and protector. By his advice a horse-sacrifice was now performed by the Pandavas both for the purification of the sin of the destruction of lakhs of human beings in the late war and for the formal subjugation of the whole country In the meanwhile, while the Pandavas were absent on an expedition to the Himalayas, Uttarâ the pregnant wife of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and nephew of Shrikrislina, killed in battle gave birth to a still-born child. It was the greatest disappointment to the ladies of the family who had centred their hopes on that progeny for the continuation of the Pandavas' line. Kunti and Draupadi, Subhadra and Uttara wailed loudly and implored Shrikrishna to

ethics of their action. One fact plainly appears which is not known to or is forgotten by people who cite this incident against Shrikrishna *viz.*, that Drona was himself at this time doing an unrighteous act *viz.*, that he was working terrible destruction in the Pandava army using, against the rules of fighting, Brahmastra against those who did not know it. The immortal Vyasa however expresses his condemnation of the act though defensible by showing how Yudhishthira's chariot touched the ground as he uttered the falsehood and how Ashvatthama the son of Drona revenged himself upon the Pandavas by his cowardly massacre of sleeping princes. The poet perhaps also intended to show that after all no man is perfect throughout his life and one bad act at least lies at the door of the greatest mortal.

save the Kuru race from extinction. And he is said to have performed what is something like a miracle and brought the child to life. It is not so much on account of its being a miracle that we mention it but for the grand oath which Shrikrishna uttered on this memorable occasion. Taking the still-born child in his lap he exclaimed, "calling upon the whole world", as the poet superbly remarks, to mark his words. "As I have not spoken an untruth in my life even in jest nor turned my back in battle, let this child be revived. As I have always loved Dharma and Brahmins, let this dead child of Abhimanyu be alive. As I do not know enmity even after success, as I have killed Kansa and Keshi righteously and justly, let this child come to life" and the child verily began to breathe. It is a lesson to the whole world that Shrikrishna in performing that miracle relies not on his Yogic or divine powers, but on his moral greatness his truthfulness and his bravery, his unflinching faith and trust in righteousness and in righteous persons, his freedom from hatred even in strength and his righteous act in destroying unrighteous men. If there is any incident in Shrikrishna's career which should enable us to understand his life and teaching correctly it is this act and this oath.*

* अब्रवीच्च विशुद्धात्मा सर्वं विश्रावयन् जगत् ।
नोक्तपूर्वं मया मिथ्या स्वैरेष्वपि कदाचन ॥
न च युद्धात्परावृत्तस्तथा संजीवतामयम् ॥
यथा मे दयितो धर्मः ब्राह्मणाश्च विशेषतः ।
अभिमन्योः सुतो जातो मृतो जीवत्वयं तथा ।
यथाहं नाभिजानामि विजयेपि कदाचन ।
विरोधं तेन सत्येन तथा जीवत्वयं शिशुः ॥

It remains for us to notice Shrikrishna's attitude towards Ahinsa. That immortal doctrine, there is not the smallest doubt, was first vividly preached by Shrikrishna, though we find traces of it even in the Upanishads. We find proof of this fact in the Bhagavadgita itself. Among the duties of a Yogi or good man, Ahinsa is pre-eminently mentioned. So also Ahinsa is said to be one of the forms of bodily austerities.* Ahinsa is also mentioned† among the essentials of true knowledge. But as on other points Shrikrishna never advocated extremes so also in Ahinsa he did not go, like the Jains, to the absurd length of preaching abstention from every slaughter and on all conceivable occasions. Whether he declared like Buddha or Jesus, that the slaughter of animals was not the proper worship of God is however not quite clear. He lived in an age when sacrifices were in full swing and when the Aryans of India freely ate beef. The Bhagavadgita in one place expressly supports sacrifices though it assigns to them less efficacy than devotion to God or Vasudeva and though in another place it speaks strongly against Veda-Vada, and the indulgence of desires. Certain it is, however, that Krishna-worshippers in later times gave up animal sacrifices altogether and we find in the Mahabharata itself the natural revulsion of feeling, which the doctrine of Ahinsa once preached must lead to, against animal sacrifice and animal food. The Vaishnavites, *long before Buddha*, as we have already

यथा कंसश्च केशी च धर्मेण निहतौ मया ।
तेन सत्येन बालोपि पुनः संजीवितामयम् ॥ अश्वमे॰ ६९।२१

* ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ।

† अमानित्वमदंभित्वमहिंसा क्षान्तिरार्जवम् ।

stated elsewhere, preached Ahinsa even in sacrifice and substituted flour and milk sacrifices in place of the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas.

The Ashvamedha sacrifice of Yudhishthira over, Shrikrishna took leave of the Pandavas, being loaded by them with the most costly presents and the most hearty gratitude. Shrikrishna returned to Dvaraka and enjoyed repose for some time after his arduous labours on the battle-field. His end came, according to the Mahabharata, thirty six years hereafter. The story of that end is related in the Mahabharata itself and we give it here in detail. The Yadavas like other Kshatriyas of their or modern times and like the Germans of yore were addicted to the vice of drinking. Shrikrishna tried his utmost to restrain the vice but without much effect. One day at the Prabhasa-tirtha the Yadavas revelled in deep drinking and Rama in presence of Shrikrishna drank and so did Kritavarma and Yuyudhana and Gada and Babhru. Yuyudhana or Satyaki in his drinking mood began the squabble by taunting Kritavarma for slaughtering men and animals in sleep. Pradyumna seconded the remark. Kritavarma thereon retorted, "How can a brave man like you kill Bhurishrava who, with both his arms cut off, was seated still in the process of Praya (the drawing in of breath in order to die)" Krishna glanced in anger at Kritavarma. Yuyudhana in reply related the story of the Syamantaka jewel which originally belonged to Satrajit. Satyabhama thereupon began to weep and enraged herself, raised the ire of Krishna against Kritavarma. Satyaki suddenly drawing his sword and exclaiming "Here I avenge the murder of the five sons of Draupadi"

lopped off the head of Kritavarma. Kritavarma's friends now fell upon Satyaki whereupon a general scuffle began, in which friends and relations slaughtered one another and the Yadavas fell by hundreds and thousands. When almost all had been killed including Sambha and Pradyumna and Gada and Satyaki and others, Krishna said to Daruka "Go to the Kurus of Hastinapura and apprise them of this terrible event; let Arjuna come and do the needful." When Daruka left with a heavy heart, Krishna asked Rama to wait a little till he came back from Dvaraka. Going to the city Shrikrishna asked his aged father to take care of the women and children till Arjuna came. When he returned to Balarama he saw him go to heaven. He thereupon laid himself down in meditation. A hunter shot an arrow which struck him in the sole of his foot and thus did Shrikrishna depart this life.

There is nothing unhistorical in the account above given. The only thing that requires elucidation is the reference to the story of the Syamantaka jewel and a life of Shrikrishna would not be complete without that story. It is only alluded to in the Mahabharata and we give it from the Harivansa. Satrajit, a prince of the same family as the Yadavas, had a priceless jewel given him by the Sun and Krishna once asked him to bestow it upon him. Satrajit however refused to give him the jewel and Krishna did not press him. One day Prasenjit his brother went out a hunting, wearing the jewel on his person and was killed by a tiger who carried the jewel to his cave; but the tiger in his turn was killed by the bear Jambavan. No body knowing how Prasenjit died,

it was suspected that Krishna had got Prasenjit killed for the sake of the jewel. It cast a great slur upon Krishna's character and he was compelled to wash it off by finding out the truth. Following Prasenjit's footsteps Krishna compelled Jambavan to deliver the jewel and in doing so married Jambavan's daughter. Historically speaking, this bear Jambavan must have been an aboriginal chief having that nickname like the monkey king Sugriva of the Ramayana and Jambavati was a veritable human princess. To return to the jewel, Krishna brought it and gave it back to Satrajit who was so pleased and at the same time ashamed of having cast a slur on Krishna's character, that he gave his beautiful daughter Satyabhama in marriage to Krishna. She became one of his most favourite wives. Satrajit wished to give the jewel also to Krishna in dowry for his daughter but he declined it. The jewel therefore remained with Satrajit. Kritavarma and Akrura subsequently murdered Satrajit for the sake of the same jewel. Suspicion again pointed its finger at Krishna and he had again to find out who had taken the jewel and murdered Satrajit. The jewel was eventually recovered from Akrura who remained outside Dvaraka as a rebel for a long time and was induced to return only at the earnest solicitation of Krishna. Twice thus had Krishna to clear his character from suspicion raised by his asking once for the jewel from Satrajit. The story is a well known story in the Puranic legends and the jewel like the Kohinoor seems to have excited the cupidity of very honourable men.

Arjuna came to Dvaraka to take care of the

women and children of the Yadava race. Vasudeva bewailed the destruction of his race most vehemently and the aged king only waited for Arjuna's coming to breathe his last. Having duly performed his obsequies and those of Krishna and other Yadava warriors, Arjuna set off from Dvaraka with the women and the children of the Yadavas. With great difficulty he returned to the middle country safely and enthroned the son of Satyaki on the banks of the Sarasvati, while Vajra a grandson of Krishna was given Indraprastha. "Rukmini, Gandhari Shaibya, Haimavati, and Jambavati entered the fire while Satyabhama and others retired to the forest bent on the performance of austerities."

Krishna-worship grew by leaps and bounds after Shrikrishna's death, but in course of time some of his high principles were either misunderstood or misrepresented. The Mahabharata contains many references to Krishnaism often called the Pancharatra philosophy in the Mahabharata. In chapter 350 of the Shantiparva we are told that the founder of this philosophy was Narayana or Shrikrishna himself. Its tenets are set forth in a work called the Pancharatra the author of which was apparently Narada. The grand doctrines of the Bhagavadgita appear to have been greatly twisted therein. We have an idea of the doctrines from what is mentioned in the Mahabharata itself. The four forms of Narayana are, according to the esoteric doctrine of the Pancharatra, 1 Vasudeva the supreme God from whom is produced 2 Sankarshana or the divine soul from whom again is produced 3 Pradyumna or the divine mind from whom again comes 4 Aniruddha or Ahankara or eno-

sciousness. It is in this system of belief again that the idea of incarnation as preached by Shrikrishna in the Bhagavadgita was developed and arranged and we have a number of such incarnations given in the Mahabharata. They are called Pradurbhavas (प्रादुर्भाव) and not Avataras and are not yet the ten Avataras of modern day but somewhat different.* Orthodox India was strongly opposed to Buddhism, when the Mahabharata was last recast and Buddha was not yet an Avatara of Vishnu. The cult of Pancharatra as well as the Vaishnavism of modern times has distorted the teaching of Shrikrishna in many other ways. Notably its pure Theism is now a sensuous worship and the incidents of Shrikrishna's life have in consequence been similarly distorted and misrepresented.

Rescued from such misrepresentations and distortions, the life and teaching of Shrikrishna, as interpreted by the aid of the Mahabharata and especially the Bhagavadgita, stand out bright and pure as burnished gold. Even if the incidents of his life had been subjected to the grossest libel, that immortal word of his, the Bhagavadgita, would have sufficed to preserve the greatness of his thought and the purity of his character. The great philosophy of action which has been preached in the Bhagavadgita lays down a rule of conduct in life which will be useful in all ages and in all countries. To do one's duty undeterred by the thought of failure or success and in firm reliance upon God strengthened by the conviction that one is acting under His will, is the noblest

* हंसः कूर्मश्च मत्स्यश्च प्रादुर्भावा द्विजोत्तम ।
वराहो नरसिंहश्च वामनो राम एव च ।
रामो दाशरथिश्चैव सात्वतः कल्किरेव च ॥ शां० ३४०–१०४

lesson that was ever taught by any ethical teacher. The entire suppression of the senses was as impossible as it was impossible to cease to work. The moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of life under the proper restraints of religi on and morality was equally as meritorious, if not more, as the complete suppression of the senses. To quote an excellent shloka from the Mahabharata only echoing the sentiments of the Bhagavadgita, "Stopping the senses completely from acting is more afflicting than death; their being let loose completely on the other hand might ruin even gods." In short in ethics Shrikrishna preached the principle of vigorous yet well regulated action. In the matter of religious observance too, the same principle of the golden mean was preached. His Sanyasa was not the total giving up of the world but the giving up of Kamya action· His Tyaga was not the giving up of action entirely but the giving up of its fruit or the desire of obtaining a perticular fruit. Brahmacharya equally was not the entire cessation of sexual intercourse but meant the continent sexual life of a house-holder also, who under strict regulation has intercourse with his own wedded wife. Fast lastly was not only the refraining from taking food altogether but the taking food moderately and without gorging twice a day. In Theology he taught the great doctrine of one personal God who creates the universe and rules it justly, protects the poor and punishes the wicked. That God was attainable by all whether a Brahmin or a Chandala, a man or a woman, through the one door of implicit faith and perfect devotion. In philosophy he reconciled the doctrines of Vedanta,

Sankhya and Yoga with his own Theism. In politics he always worked with an unselfish motive. Even when he killed Kansa or Jarasandha or aided Arjuna on the field of Kurukshetra, it was not for his own aggrandisement nor for the benefit of his friend and disciple Arjuna but for the sake of the oppressed and the wronged. Above all may be placed his broad sympathy for the masses and his raising them to the level of the Aryans in religion as well as in politics. Of the great gulf that lay between the Aryans and non-Aryans and was the cause of discord and the inevitable trampling of the latter under the foot of the former, he was the destroyer, the builder of the bridge over it. If the various races in India are not as disastrously divided as at the present moment in South Africa or the United States, they owe it to the life and teaching of the great Shrikrishna and therein lies the explanation as to why he is emphatically the god of India proper and has for thousands of years been worshipped in all parts of India and by all classes of people Aryan and non-Aryan.

APPENDIX.

NOTE No. I.

HIOUEN TSIANG'S DESCRIPTION OF INDIA AND THE INDIANS.

It would be interesting to give extracts from the description of India and the Indians recorded by Hiouen Tsiang as furnishing a link between ancient and modern India.

"Among the various castes and clans of the country the Brahmans are the purest and in most esteem. So from their excellent reputation the name Brahmana-Country has come to be a popular one for India. It is politically divided into about seventy kingdoms. The heat of summer is very great and the land to a great extent is marshy. The quadrangular walls of their cities are broad and high while the thoroughfares are narrow tortuous passages. Butchers, fishermen public performers, executioners and scavengers are forced to live outside the city and have to sneak along on the left when going in the hamlets. Most of the city walls are built of bricks while those of houses are wattled Bamboo or wood. Their halls are covered with chunam and are covered with burnt or unburnt tiles. Their height is extraordinary. The floor of houses is purified with cowdung and strewn with flowers of the season.

For seats all use corded benches. The sovereign's seat is exceeding high and broad and dotted with small pearls. What is called the 'Lion's seat' is covered with a fine cloth and mounted by a jewelled footstool.

The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring. As to colour a fresh white is esteemed while motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right

shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both the shoulders and falls down loose. The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil while the rest of the hair hang down. Some clip their mustaches or have other fantastic fashions. Garlands are worn on the head and necklaces on the body.

The names of their clothing materials are Kausheya or silk, Kshauma, or linen, and Kambala or a texture of fine wool. The garbs of the non-Buddhists are varied and extraordinary. Some wear peacok's feathers others a necklace of skulls, some are quite naked, some cover the body with grass or board, some pull out their hair, some mat their side-hair and make a top-knot coil.

The Kshatriyas and Brahmins are clean-headed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. The dress and ornaments of kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head ornaments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets. Most of the people go barefoot and shoes are rare. They stain their teeth red or black, wear their hair cut even, bore their ears; have long noses and large eyes. Such are they in outward appearance.

They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion Before every meal they must have a wash. The fragments and remains are not served up again. The food utensils are not passed on. The utensils of pottery are thrown away and those which are of gold, silver, copper or iron get another polishing. Before they have finished ablutions, they do not come into contact with one another. They always wash after urinating. They smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal or saffron.

Their system of writing was invented by Deva Brahma. In language they have not varied from the original source but the people of Mid-India are pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant and their intonation clear and distinct serving as rule and pattern for others.

As to their archives and records there are separate custodians of them. The official annals and state papers are

called collectively Nilapita and good and bad are recorded in those and instances of public calamity and good fortune are set forth in detail.

The Brahmins learn the four Veda treatises, the first called "Longevity" (Ayurveda); the second called "Worship" (Yajurveda) tells of making of offerings and supplications; the third called "Making over" describes ceremonial etiquette, divination and military tactics; the forth called "Arts" sets forth the various skilled arts and exorcisms.

There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the Brahmins; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second is that of the Kshatriyas the race of kings. This order has held sovereignty for many generations and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third is that of the Vaishya or traders who sell commodities. The fourth are the Shudras or agriculturists. The members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. Relations by the father's or the mother's side do not intermarry and a woman never contracts a second marriage. There are also the mixed castes, numerous clans formed by groups of people according to their kinds and those can not be described.

The national guards are heroes of choice valour, and as their profession is hereditary they become adepts in military tactics. In peace they guard the sovereign's residence and in war they become the intrepid vanguard. The army is composed of foot, horse, chariot, and elephant soldiers. The war elephant is covered with coat of mail and his tusks are provided with sharp barbs. On him rides the commander-in-chief and there is a soldier on each side to manage the elephant. The chariot in which an officer sits is drawn by four horses whilst infantry guard it on both sides. The infantry go lightly into action and are men of intrepid valour. They bear a large shield and carry a long spear. Some are armed with a sword or sabre and dash to the front line of the advancing battle. They are perfect experts with all the implements of war having been drilled in them for generations.

They are of hasty and irresolute termperament, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully, and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceipt and keep their sworn obligations.

As the Government is honestly administered and the people live on good terms the criminal class is small. The statute law is sometimes violated and plots made against the sovereign. When the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life, he does not suffer any corporal punishment !! But alive or dead he is not treated as member of the community. For offences against social morality and filial conduct, the punishment is to cut off the nose or an ear or a hand or to banish the offender to another country or to the wilderness. Other offences can be atoned for by money payment.

Everyone who becomes sick has his food cut off for seven days. In this interval the patient often recovers but if he does not he takes medicine. Their medicines are of various kinds and their doctors differ in medical skill and in prognostication.

At the obsequies of the departed, the relatives wail and weep, beat their chests, rend their clothes and tear their hair. The disposal of the dead is of three kinds; cremation, water burial the corpse being put to float in the stream and dissolve and burial in the wilds, the body being cast away in the woods to feed wild animals. No one goes to take food in a family afflicted by death, but after the funeral, matters are again as usual. Those who attend a funeral are regarded as unclean, and they all wash outside the city-walls before entering it. Those who become old, or afflicted by incurable disease or feel that their goal of life has been reached desire to cast off humanity, contemptuous of existence. They are entertained at a feast and are then put in a boat and taken to the middle of the Ganges that they may drown themselves in it.

As the Government is generous and official requirements are few, families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour and contributions. Of the

royal lands one part is for the expenses of Government and state worship, one part is for the endowment of the public servants, one to reward high intellectual attainments and one for making religious gifts. Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used everyone keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light taxes at the ferries and the barrier stations. Ministers of state and common officers all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them.

The fruits are the Amra, Amla, the Madhuka (Bassia Latifolia), the Badara, the Kapittha, the Mocha or plantain, the Narikela and the Panasa. From Kashmir on, pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes are planted here and there. Pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown in all the countries.

Onions and garlic are little used and people who use them are ostracised. Milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugarcandy, cakes and parched grain with the mustard-seed oil are the common food and fish, mutton, venison are occasional dainties. The flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys, apes is forbidden and those who eat such food become pariahs.

There are distinctions in the use of their wines. The wines from the vine and the sugarcane are the drink of the Kshatriyas. The Vaishyas drink strong distilled spirits. The Buddhists and the Brahmins drink syrup of grapes and sugarcane, and the mixed classes are without any distinguishing drink.

Although they have different kinds of cooking implements they do not know the steaming boiler. Their household utensils are mostly earthenware few being of brass. They take their food with their fingers, spoons and chop-sticks not being used generally.

In the commerce of the country gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls are the media of exchange."

(Yuan Chwang's travels in India 629-645 A. D.—by Thomas Watters edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell)

NOTE No. II.

THE PEOPLES OR CLANS OF INDIA AT THE END OF THE EPIC PERIOD.

An enumeration of the peoples or clans of India as given in Chapter 9 of the Bhishmaparva will interest the curious reader in many ways. The following is their list; the country or people marked * being identifiable and shown in the appended map and those marked (r) being probably repeated.

HINDUSTAN PROPER OR NORTH INDIA.

1 Kurus*
2 Panchalas*.
3 Shalvas.
4 Madreyas.
5 Shurasenas.*
6 Pulindas.*
7 Bodhas.
8 Malas (मालाः)
9 Matsyas*.
10 Kaushalyas.
11 Sanshalyas.
12 Kuntis.
13 Kanti Kosalas.
14 Chedis.*
15 Matsyas.(r)
16 Karushas.*
17 Bhojas.*
18 Sindhus.*
19 Pulindakas.
20 Uttamas.
21 Dasharnas.*
22 Mekalas.
23 Utkalas.*
24 Panchalas (r)
25 Koshalas.*
26 Naikapristhas.
27 Dhurandharas.
28 Godhas.
29 Madras.*
30 Kalingas. (r)
31 Kashis.*
32 Aparakashis.
33 Jatharas.
34 Kukutas.
35 Sadasharnas.
36 Kuntis. (r)
37 Avantis.*
38 Aparakuntis.
39 Gomantas.
40 Mandakas.
41 Sandas.
42 Vidarbhas.*
43 Rupavahikas.
44 Ashmakas
45 Pandu-Rashtras.
46 Gopa-Rashtras.
47 Karitis.
48 Adhirajyas.
49 Kushadyas,
50 Mallarashtras.
51 Varavasyas.
52 Yavahas.

53 Chakras.
54 Chakratis.
55 Shakas.
56 Videhas.*
57 Magadhas*
58 Svakshas.
59 Malajas.
60 Vijayas.
61 Angas.*
62 Vangas.*
63 Kalingas.*
64 Yakrillomans.*
65 Mallas.
66 Sudeshnas.
67 Prahladas.
68 Mahikas
69 Shashakas.
70 Balhikas.*
71 Vatadhanas.*
72 Abhiras.*
73 Kálatoyakas.
74 Aparantas.*
75 Parantas.*
76 Panchalas. (r)
77 Charmamandalas.
78 Atavishikharas.
79 Merubhutas.
80 Upavrittas.
81 Anupavrittas.
82 Svarashtras.
83 Kekayas.*
84 Kundaparantas.*
85 Maheyas.
86 Kakshas.
87 Sumudranishkutas.
88 Andhras (many).
89 Antargiryas.
90 Bahirgiryas
91 Angas. (r)
92 Malayas.
93 Magadhas (r)
94 Manavarjakas.
95 Sámantaras.
96 Pravrisheyas.
97 Bhargavas.
98 Pundras.*
99 Bhargas.
100 Kiratas
101 Sudrishtas.
102 Yamunas.
103 Shakas (r)
104 Nishadas.
105 Nishadhas.*
106 Anartas.*
107 Nairitas.
108 Durgalas.
109 Pratimatsyas.
110 Kuntalas (r).
111 Kosalas. (r)
112 Tiragrahas.
113 Shurasenas (r)
114 Ijikas.
115 Kanyakagunas.
116 Tilabharas.
117 Masiras..
118 Madhumantas.
119 Sukandakas.
120 Kashmiras.*
121 Sindhus.*
122 Sauviras.*
123 Gandharas.*
124 Darshakas.
125 Abhisaras.
126 Ulutas.
127 Shaivalas.
128 Balhikas (r)
129 Darvichavas.
130 Navadarvas.
131 Vatajamas.
132 Rathoragas.

133 Bahuvadyas.
134 Sudamans
135 Sumallikas.
136 Vadhras.
137 Karishakas.
138 Kulindas. (r)
139 Upatyakas.
140 Vanayus.
141 Dashas.
142 Parshvaromanas.
143 Kushabindus.
144 Kacchas.*
145 Gopalakakshas.
146 Jangalas.
147 Kuruvarnakas.
148 Kiratas. (r)
149 Barbaras.
150 Siddhas.
151 Vaidehas. (*r*)
152 Tamraliptakas.
153 Oudras.*
154 Mlencchas*.
155 Saisiridhras.
156 Parvatiyas.

SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

1 Dravidas.*
2 Keralas.*
3 Prachyas.
4 Bhushikas.
5 Vanavasikas.*
6 Karnatakas.*
7 Mahichakas,*
8 Vikalpas.
9 Mushakas,*
10 Zillikas.
11 Kuntalas.*
12 Sauhridas.
13 Nabhakananas.
14 Kaukuttakas.
15 Cholas.*
16 Konkanas*
17 Malavas.*
18 Samangas.
19 Karakas.
20 Kukuras.
21 Angaras.
22 Marishas.
23 Dhvajinyutsavasanketas
24 Trigartas.
25 Shalvasenis.
26 Vyukas.
27 Kokabakas.
28 Proshthas.
39 Samavegavashas.
30 Vindhyachulikas.
31 Pulindas.
32 Valkalas.
33 Malavas. (r)
34 Ballavas.
35 Aparaballavas.
36 Kulindas.
57 Kâladas.
38 Kundalas.
39 Karatas.
40 Mushakas (*r*)
41 Stanabalas.
42 Sanipas.
43 Ghatasrinjayas.
44 Athidas.
45 Pashivatas.
46 Tanayas.
47 Sunayas.
48 Rishikas.
49 Vidabhas.
50 Kakas.
51 †Tanganas.*
52 †Parutanganas *

† These appear to be tribes on the northern slope of the Himalayas and should have been classed with the Mlenochas.

NORTHERN BARBARIANS

1 Yavanas
2 Chinakambojas.*
3 Sakridgrahas.
4 Kulattas.
5 Hunas.
6 Parasikas.
7 Ramanas,
8 Chinas.
9 Dashamalikas.
10 Shudrabhiras.
11 Daradas.*
12 Kashmiras.
13 Pashus.
14 Khashiras.
15 Autacharas.
16 Palhavas.
17 Girigavharas.
18 Atreyas.
19 Bharadvajas.
20 Stanaposhikas.
21 Proshakas.
22 Kalingas.
23 Sects of Kiratas.
24 Tomaras.
25 Hanyamanas.
26 Karabhanjakas.

NOTE No. III.

YAVANAPURA OR THE TOWN OF THE GREEKS.

The mention of Yavanapura or town of the Greeks in the southern part of India conquered by Shahadeva seems at first sight strange when we considar that the Mahabharata was last recast between 250 to 150 B. C., subsequent at any rate to the stay of Megasthenes in this country (300 B. C.). But the following observations of Gustav Oppert in his able and interesting paper on the ancient commerce of India (Madras Journal of literature and science 1878) are very important. "Since the days of Alexander the Great, the Greeks turned cosmopolitan and spread everywhere. Even in the far East they founded colonies as the Greek name of some places proves. We may perhaps be allowed to call Nausthathmos (Karaci), Theophila (Suradara) in Gujarat and Byzantium on the Malabar Coast, Greecian colonies." We believe the last place is the one referred to by the name of Yavanapura; the places mentioned in Sahadeva's conquest are not given in the order of conquest or of position and Yavanapura may therefore well have been on the west coast.

NOTE No. IV.

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA IN KALIDASA.

It would be interesting to give Kalidasa's references to the geography of India by way of comparison. In the conquests of Raghu (East) are mentioned, 1 the Sumhas 2 Vangas 3 and 4 crossing the river Kapisha the Utkalas 5 the Kalingas with Mahendra mountain; (South) 6 crossing the Kaveri the Pandyas where pearls are produced at the mouth of the Tamraparni 7 crossing the Malaya and Dardura mountains the Keralas. (West) 8 crossing the Murala river. Aparanta between the Sahya range and the sea with the Trikuta Mountain 9 By land route the Parasikas who were then in Sind on this side of the Indus 10 the Yavanas in the Punjab 11 (North) the Hunas on the banks of the Indus in Kashmir, 12 the Kambojas 13 the Kiratas and other Hilly tribes near the Kailasa Mountain 14 Utsavasanketas 15 Pragjyotisha here identified with Kamrupa or modern Assam where Gauhatti is even now believed to have been founded by Naraka, the father of Bhagadatta who fought on the Kaurava side.

In the Meghaduta, the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Ramagiri near Nagpur to Alaka are the following: 1 Satpura hills 2 Malava or plateau 3 the Reva (Nerbudda) 4 Vindhya range 5 Dasharna 6 capital Vidisha (Bhelsa) with the hill Nichairgiri 6 going west and crossing the Nirvindhya the Avantis 7 Capital Ujjain on the Sipra 8 rivulet Gandhavati by the Mahakala temple garden 9 going north the Gambhira 10 Devagiri with the temple of Skanda 11 the Charmanvati 12 Dashapura 13 (by a long jump) Kurukshetra 14 the Sarasvati 15 Kanakhala Hill near the Ganges, 16 Its source, 17 Mount Kailasa, 18 Manasa lake and 19 Alaka on the slope of a mountain.

NOTE No. V.

STORY OF JANAKA AND SULABHA,

An Extract from Translation of Mahabharata by Pratapchandra Rai Shantiparva Chap. 321.

In days of yore, there was a king of Mithila, of the name of Dharmadhvaja of Janaka's race. He was devoted to the practices of the religion of Renunciation. Subjugating his senses, he ruled the earth. A woman of the name Sulabha belonging to the mendicant order practised the duties of Yoga and wandered over the whole earth. She heard from many Dandins of different places that the ruler, of Mithila was devoted to the religion of Emancipation. Hearing this report she became desirous of having a personal interview with Janaka. Abandoning by her Yogic powers her former form and features she assumed the most faultless features. In the twinkling of the eye, the fair-browed lady with eyes like lotus petals repaired to the capital of the Videhas. Adopting the form of a mendicant, she presented herself before the king. Refreshed duly and gratified with the rites of hospitality Sulabha endued with Yoga power entered the understanding of the king by her own understanding. The best of monarchs, priding himself upon his own invincibleness and defeating Sulabha's intention, seized her resolution with his own. The king in his subtle form was without the royal umbrella and sceptre. The lady in hers was without the triple stick. Both staying then in the same form conversed thus with each other.

Janaka said—"Oh holy lady! to what course of conduct art thou devoted? Whose art thou? whence hast thou come? After finishing your business here whither wilt thou go? Know thou that I am truly freed from vanity in respect of my royal umbrella and sceptre. I wish to know thee thoroughly. I am the disciple of that high-souled Panchashikha of the mendicant order, of Parashara's race. He discoursed to me on the several ways of attaining to emancipation. He did not however command me to give up my kingdom. I am freed from attachments of every kind though

I am engaged in ruling a kingdom. If men leading the domestic mode of life be endued with Yama and Niyama, they become the equals of Sanyasis. If on the other hand Sanyasis be endowed with desire, aversion, pride and affection they become equals of men leading a domestic life. If one can attain Emancipation by means of knowledge then may Emancipation exist in triple sticks. Why may it not exist in umbrella and sceptre as well? Wearing of the brown clothes, shaving the head, bearing the triple stick and the Kamandalu these are the outward signs of one's mode of life; but the adoption of mere emblems is perfectly useless. Emancipation does not consist in poverty; nor bondage in affluence. One attains to Emancipation through knowledge alone whether one is poor or rich. The bonds constituted by kingdom and affluence I have cut off with the sword of renunciation whetted on the stone of the scriptures of Emancipation. As regards myself then I tell thee I have become fixed. Oh lady thou hast stopped my body for ascertaining whether I am really emancipated or not. This act of thine ill corresponds with the mode of life whose emblems thou bearest. For a Yogi that is endued with desire the Triple stick is unfit. At whose sign hast thou entered into my heart? Thou art a Brahmin woman, I am a Kshatriya; there is no union for us two, do not help to cause an intermixture of colours. Thou art a Sanyasin and I am a Grihastha. This act of thine is therefore another evil, for it produces an unnatural union between two opposite modes of life. If thou art of my Gotra thou hast by entering my body produced the third evil of unnatural union. Dost thou do these from the ignorance or perverted intelligence? By endeavouring to display thy superiority the indication of a wicked woman is seen in thee. The union of man and woman when each covets the other is nectar, but when one fails to obtain the heart of the other, that union is as noxious as poison. Do not continue to touch me, know that I am righteous. One should never appear deceitfully before a king nor before a Brahmin nor before the virtuous wife of another for one soon meets with destruction. It behoves thee therefore to apprise me truly of thy birth learning and conduct and the object thou hast in view in coming here."

Though rebuked by the king in these unpleasant words, the lady Sulabha was not at all abashed; and addressed the following words in reply that were more handsome than her person. Sulabha said—"Oh king, speech ought to be free from the nine verbal faults and the nine faults of judgment. It should also while setting forth the meaning with perspicuity be possessed of the eighteen well-known merits. The words which I shall utter will be fraught with sense, free from ambiguity, logical, free from tautology, smooth, certain, free from bombast, agreeable, truthful, not inconsistent with the aggregate of three (righteousness, wealth and pleasure) refined, eliptical, destitute of harshness, or difficulty of comprehension, connected with each other as cause and effect and each having a specific object. Thou hast asked me who I am, whose I am and whence I come &c. Listen Oh king! with undivided attention. As lac and wood, as grains of dust and drops of water exist commingled when brought together even so are the existences of all creatures. The eye, form and light constitute the three requisites of the operation called seeing. The same is the case with the other senses of knowledge and the five of action; mind makes the total eleven. The twelth is the understanding! Sattva is the 13th and consciousness is the 14th. Desire, Avidya, Prakriti and Vyakti, the couples of opposites and Time are the others. Besides these the five great elements, existence and not-existence. Vidhi Shukra and Bala make the tale thirty. That Prakriti which is unmanifest becomes manifest in the form of these thirty. Myself, thyself and others that have a body are the result of that Prakriti. The constituent elements of the body which serve diverse functions in the general economy undergo change every moment in every creature. The birth of particles and their death in each successive condition can not be marked, even as one can not mark the changes in the flame of a burning lamp. When such is the state of the bodies of all creatures, who then has come whence and not whence and whose is it not. Indeed as thou seest thy own body in thy body and thy own soul in thy soul why is it that thou dost not see thy body and thy soul in the bodies and souls of others? If it is true that thou seest an identity with thyself and others, why didst thou

ask me who I am and whose. If thou art really freed from the knowledge of duality *viz.*, this is mine and this other is not mine then what use is there with such questions as who art thou and whose and whence thou comest? What indication of emancipation can occur in a king who acts as other kings act towards enemies neutrals and friends, what indications of emancipation can exist in him who fails to cast an equal eye on the weak and the strong. This thy endeavour to attain to emancipation is like the taking of medicine by a patient who indulges in all kinds of forbidden food and practices. The king is always dependent on others in the matter of peace and war; in the matter of women he is not independent. When indeed he sets his orders on other men he is independent, but the moment after in the several matters of his orders his independence is barred by the very men whom he orders. If he desires to sleep, he can not being resisted by those who have business to transact with him. Bathe, touch, drink, eat, pour libations on the fire, perform sacrifices, speak, hear, these are the words which kings have to hear from others and hearing them have to slave to those who utter them. Men come to him in batches upon batches to solicit gifts; but being the protector of the general treasury he can not make gifts even to the most deserving. If he makes gifts the treasury becomes exhausted if he does not, disappointed solicitors look upon him with hostile eyes. He becomes vexed and misanthropical feelings soon begin to invade his mind. If many wise and heroic and wealthy persons reside together the king begins to be filled with distrust. Then again all men are kings in their own houses. 'The country is ruined, the city is consumed by fire, the foremost elephant is dead' at all this the king yields to grief like others little regarding that these impressions are due to ignorance and error. A king endued with energy and firmly attached to Kshatriya practice takes one tenth of the produce of the subjects' fields; and some are satisfied with even less. By ruling a kingdom well a king obtains the merit of a horse sacrifice where the earth is given away as Dakshina. But how many kings act in this way O king of Mithila, I can mention hunderes of faults like these which are attached to kings and kingdoms.

Then again when I have no real connection with any body even, how can I be said to have connection with the bodies of others. If thou hast learned the religion of Emancipation from Panchashikha and hast prevailed over all thy bonds and freed from all attachments why dost thou keep this umbrella and other signs of royalty ? And what harm have I done thee by entering thy person with my intelligence ? With Yatis the custom is to dwell in uninhabited houses, what harm have I done by entering thy intelligence which is truly empty? I have not touched thee with my hands or any of my limbs. I am staying in thee without touching thee at all like a drop of water on a lotus leaf. If notwithstanding this thou feelest my touch how can it be believed that through the instruction of Panchashikha thy knowledge has become abstracted from sensual objects to which it relates. Thou hast plainly fallen off from the householder's life but hast not attained to emancipation. Thou hangest between the two, pretending that thou hast reached emancipation. The contact of one that is emancipated with another who is also so, can not produce intermixture of colours as you dread. Only those that regard the soul to be identical with the body and who regard the several modes of life as different are open to the error of supposing intermingling as possible. Then again I am the daughter of the royal sage Pradhana of whom you may have heard and am thus Kshatriya by caste. Instructed in the religion of emancipation, I wander over the earth alone observant of the practices of asceticism. I practise no hypocricy in the manner of life I follow. I am not a confuser of practices belonging to different orders. I am firm and steady in my vows. It was for inquiring of emancipation that I had come to thee. What I say is that he that is emancipated never indulges in that intellectual gladiatorship which is implied by a dialectical disputation for the sake of victory. He on the other hand is really emancipated who devotes himself to Brahma the sole seat of tranquility. As a person of the mendicant order resides only for one night in an empty house I shall dwell for one night in thy person and to-morrow I shall depart."

Hearing these words fraught with reason, king Janaka failed to make any reply thereto.

NOTE No. VI.

SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

The chief systems of philosophy that were studied by the orthodox Indo-Aryans at the end of the epic period are noted in the following shloka. "The philosophies with their different opinions, Oh King, are the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Pancharatra, the Vedas and the Pashupata."* It is further stated that "Sankhya was taught by Kapila; the ancient teacher of Yoga was Hiranyagarbha. The Acharya of the Veda (Vedant philosophy) was Apantaratamas, also called Prachinagarbha. The Pashupata philosophy was proclaimed by Umapati or Shiva, the son of Brahma, while of the Pancharatra, Bhagavan himself is the knower." "But", adds Sauti in his usual spirit of reconciliation, "in all these five systems of knowledge, the same Narayana is preached and worshipped according to their different methods and ideas; ignorant persons do not know him in this way."† The Vaisheshika philosophy of Kanada and the Nyaya of Gautama which also had their rise during the epic period have not been mentioned by name in the Mahabharata but were probably included in the unorthodox philosophies which existed besides these as is clearly indicated in the

* सांख्यं योगः पाञ्चरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्षे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥ शा० ३६०-६४

† सांख्यस्य वक्ता कपिलः परमर्षिः स उच्यते ।
हिरण्यगर्भो योगस्य वक्ता नान्यः पुरातनः ॥ ६५ ॥
अपान्तरतमाश्चैव वेदाचार्यः स उच्यते ।
प्राचीनगर्भं तमृषिं प्रवदन्तीह केचन ॥ ६६ ॥
उमापतिर्भूतपतिः श्रीकण्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
उक्तवानिदमव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः ॥ ६७ ॥
पाञ्चरात्रस्य कृत्स्नस्य वेत्ता तु भगवान् स्वयम् ।
सर्वेषु च नृपश्रेष्ठ ज्ञानेष्वेतेषु दृश्यते ॥ ६८ ॥
यथागमं यथाज्ञानं निष्ठा नारायणः प्रभुः ।
न चैनमेवं जानन्ति तमोभूता विशाम्पते ॥ ६९ शा० ३५ ॥

shloka quoted below.* The now accepted number 6 of Indian philosophies, it thus appears probable, was not so recognised at the end of the epic period.

The oldest system of philosophy was undoubtedly the Vedanta which has its rise in the Rigveda and which is more directly taught in the ten oldest Upanishads. Its author is here said to be Apantartamas *alias* Prachinagarbha. Who this Rishi is we have failed to discover.† His name is not mentioned in any of these Upanishads as a teacher of philosophy. Next in date come the Sankhya and the Yoga. These go back to the days of the Upanishads. The Yoga is clearly mentioned in the Kathopanishad‡ in its last chapter which is properly looked upon as its latest part. The teacher of Sankhya was Kapila a name which has come down from hoary antiquity without question as its teacher, though we have no work of his now extant. The Sankhya tenets were probably in a fluid condition throughout the epic period. These were stereotyped in Sutras long after the Mahabharata was recast. The same was the case with Yoga whose first teacher was Hiranyagarbha or Prajapati himself a supposititious author. Yoga was not stereotyped till after the Mahabharata was last recast when the beautiful Sutras of Patanjali gave it a fixed form. The Pancharatra philosophy was taught by Bhagavan himself which means probably by Shrikrishna whose teaching in the Bhagavadgita was subsequently amplified by Narada as those of the Pancharatra. The peculiar doctrines of the Pashupata philosophy must similarly have grown round the worship of Shiva, as the Pancharatra philosophy grew about the worship of Vasudeva or Shrikrishna.

* न्यायतंत्राण्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः ।
हेत्वागमसदाचारैर्यदुक्तं तदुपास्यताम ॥ शां० २१०--२२

† In the Mahabharata he is said to be the predecessor of Vyasa in the task of arranging the Vedas; but even in Vedic literature his name apparently does not occur.

‡ यदा पञ्चावतिष्ठन्ते ज्ञानानि मनसा सह ।
बुद्धिश्च न विचेष्टते तामाहुः परमां गतिम् ।
तां योगमिति मन्यन्ते स्थिरामिन्द्रियधारणाम् ॥

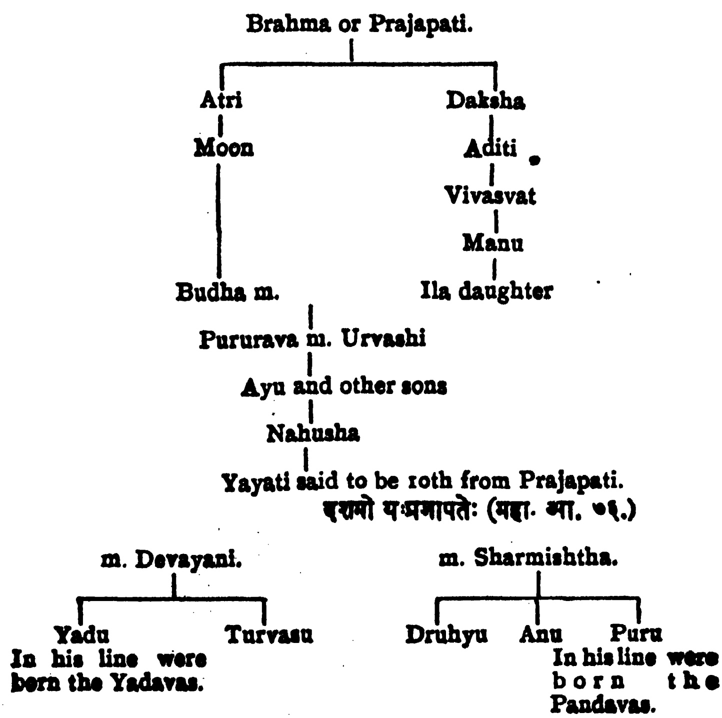
The tenets of the Pancharatras are mainly based on the four (not three) forms of the Great Soul viz. Vasudeva, Sankarshana Pradyumna and Aniruddha, noticed at length in the Mahabharata probably because Vasudeva was one of its heroes. The tenets of the Pashupata philosophy are only to be found from the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana which to our mind were the latest of the several Sutras of their kind and which naturally contained a refutation of all these rival systems *viz*. Sankhya and Yoga, Pancharatra and Pashupata. From Shankara's commentary on Sutra 37 Chapter II quarter 2 we find that the Pashupata doctrines succintly were that Pashupati was, the Nimitta, cause of the universe, and not its material cause and that the world consisted of five Padarthas only *viz*. Karya (कार्य), Karana (कारण), Yoga (योग) Vidhi (विधि), and Duhkha (दुःख). There may have been a separate treatise on this system of philosophy like the Pancharatra on the Vaishnavite, but its name does not appear in the Mahabharata, nor are we acquainted with the name of any subsequent Sutra or treatise on the Pashupata philosophy.

We can not close this note without remarking that the Indo-Aryan had as ardent a liking for philosophical discussion as his western brother the Greek. Philosophical schools have been noticed in the Mahabharata; and Brahmins and Kshatriyas took equal delight in their discussions. The name of Janaka will forever live as the great Samrat who gave thousands of ornamented cows to the winner in such disputes and his name is as famous in the Mahabharata as in the Upanishads. The wanderidg Muni whose house was at the place where evening overtook him (यत्रसायंगृहो मुनिः) is mentioned in both the epics. Philosophical discussion was thus the delight of the people and led conseqnently to that multiplicity of ideas which is reflected in the manifold systems of Indian thought.

NOTE No. VII.

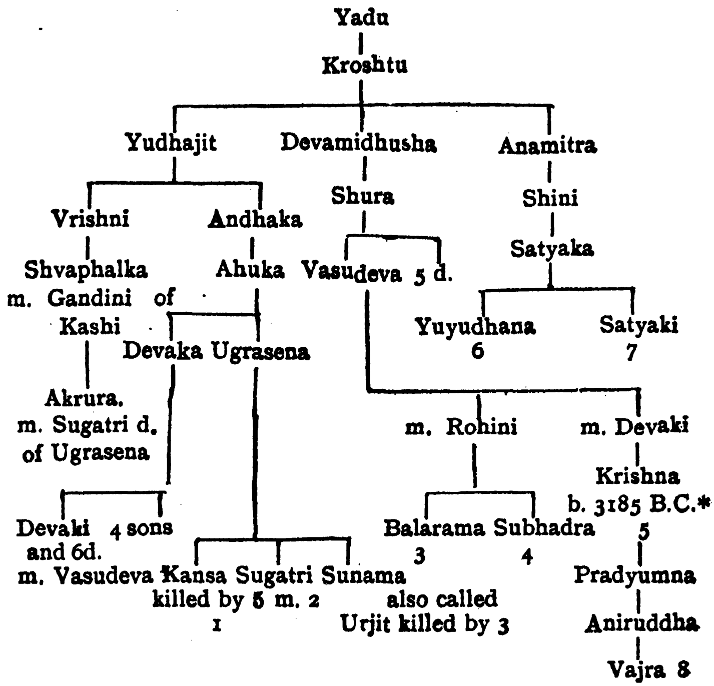
GENEALOGY OF SHRIKRISHNA.

The genealogy of Shrikrishna and other Yadavas is somewhat obscure. It is given in the Mahabharata, the Harivansha and lastly in the Bhagavata which gives its latest version. The genealogy up to Yadu given in the Mahabharata (chapters 75 and 95) is as follows :—



The genealogy from Yadu is differently given and is more inflated in the Harivansha than in the Mahabharata and still more so in the Bhagavata. We will therefore give the genealogy from Kroshtu who was either the son of Yadu or some

descendant of his, as the three works are nearly agreed on the immediate ancestors of Shrikrishna.



It is worth relating that the five sisters of Vasudeva were 1 Pritha, 2 Shrutakirti, 3 Shrutadeva, 4 Shrutashrava and 5 Rajadeva. Pritha was given in adoption to Kuntibhoja and married Pandu. Her sons the Pandavas are hence called Parthas or Kaunteyas. Shrutashrava was married to the king of the Chedis and was the mother of Shishupala

* Dinanatha, an astronomer of Ujjain of the last century gives the extact time of Krishna's birth as follows. Dvapara's remaining year 123 or 84 Virodhi or Vishvavasu Samvatsara, Shravana-Vadya 8, Wednesday, midnight, Rohini Nakshatra and Vrishabha Lagna Jupiter in Pisces, Mars in Capricornus, Venus and Saturn n Libra, Mercury in Virgo, the Sun in Leo and Rahu in Aries.

who was thus Krishna's paternal aunt's son. Shrutadeva was married to the king of the Karushas and gave birth to Dantavakra who was a friend of both Shishupala and Jarasandha.

Among the ancestors of Krishna we sometimes find the names of Bhoja, Kukura, Dasharha, Satvata, Madhu, and others who have given their names to the race which besides being called Yadava, is often called in the Mahabharata by the names of Bhoja, Andhakukura, Dasharha, Satvata, and Madhava.

The relation of Kritavarma is not quite clear. He is however said to be the son of Hridika and was hence called Hardikya. Hridika was a brother or son of Shini or he may have been a descendant of some other son of Kroshtu. So also the relation of Uddhava does not appear. It is not quite clear if he is a descendant at all of Yadu, or belongs to some other family. His father's name is given as Devabhaga.

Subhadra was a full sister of Balarama and not Krishna. Vajra is said to be a great grandson of Krishna.

NOTE NO. VIII.

THE DATE OF THE BHAGAVADGITA.

Prof. T. R. Amalnerkar has written an erudite and strongly reasoned brochure on the subject of the priority of the Vedanta Sutras over the Bhagvadgita in which he lays stress on two shlokas principally. The first of these is in Chapter XIII and is as follows.

ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छंदोभिर्विविधैः पृथक् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः ॥ ४ ॥

Following Prof. Amalnerkar's view and expressly referring to him Prof. MaxMuller observes. "The only passage which seems to me to settle the relative age of the Vedanta Sutras and the Bhagavadgita is in Chapter XIII. 3. 'Hear and learn from me the Supreme Soul that has been celebrated in many ways by Rishis in various meters and by the words of the

Brahmasutras which are definite and furnished with reasons.' Here the words 'Brahmasutrapadaih' seem to me to refer clearly to the recognised title of the Vedanta or Brahma Sutras, whatever native authorities may say to the contrary. And if it is said on the other side, that these Brahmasutras when they refer to Smriti refer clearly to passages taken from the Bhagavadgita also* and must therefore be earlier, I doubt it. They never mention the name of the Bhagvadgita, and these references may have been meant for passages which the Bhagavadgita has adopted. And even admitting that the Brahmasutras quoted from the Bhagavadgita, as the Gita certainly appeals to the Brahmasutras, the reciprocal quotation might be accounted for by their being contemporaneous." The above contains in a nutshell the view of scholars headed by Professor T. R. Amalnerkar and Professor MaxMuller on the subject of the date of the Bhagvadgita, the date of the Vedanta Sutras to which it is later or at least contemporaneous being approximately fixed about 200 B. C. containing as they evidently do a refutation of the doctrines of the Jainas and the Buddhists in their second chapter quarter 2. This view is opposed to the view of Shankaracharya who interprets the word 'Brahmasutrapadaih' in the above shloka as meaning (ब्रह्मणः सूचकानि वाक्यानि, पद्यते गम्यते ज्ञायते ब्रह्मेति तानि ब्रह्मसूत्रपदेन सूच्यन्ते) 'sentences speaking of Brahma.' As there is no mention here of Badarayana's Vedanta Sutra, Shankara refers here to such sentences in the Brahmanas and Upanishads as speak of Brahma. This view is accepted by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Telang in his preface to the Bhagavadgita.—Translation in blank verse, in which he also sets forth various other arguments. It is unnecessary to detail the arguments on both sides as they will be incidentally noticed in the following disquisition in which we propose to give our

* These Sutras are, as pointed out by Mr. Justice Telang, II, 3, 45 (all commentators quote here ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः) IV 1, 10 (commentators quote शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः) IV, 2, 69 (all commentators quote here अग्निर्ज्योतिरहः शुक्लः षण्मासा दक्षि-णायनम्) and others.

view on the subject, agreeing as we do with the latter interpretation.

In the first place then it must be observed that the arguments adduced by Prof. Amalnerkar and Prof. MaxMuller like double-edged swords cut the ground from under their own feet. Even when the above shloka mentions the word Brahmasutra there is nothing to show that the word is meant to refer to the Vedanta Sutras which we now possess and of which the reputed author is Badarayana. These Sutras nowhere mention that their name is Brahmsutras; nor are they called Brahmasutras by Shankara who in the beginning of his commentary calls them by the name of वेदान्तमीमांसाशास्त्र. If Professor MaxMuller argues that the passages referred to in Badarayana's Sutras as from Smriti may have been older passages incorporated by the Bhagavadgita it may be retorted that Badarayana's Brahmasutras if we may so call them are a later rescension of some older Brahmasutras.* In fact Professor Amalnerkar argues in our favour when he says that even Panini who cannot be put later than the sixth century B. C. talks of old and new Sutras. In short retorting their arguments we can say that the mere mention of the word Brahmasutra in the Bhagavadgita can be no argument to hold that it is intended to refer to the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana which we now possess.

But further; this shloka in the Bhagavadgita has been wrongly translated and understood both by Professor MaxMuller and Professor Amalnerkar themselves instead of being wrongly understood by Shankara. To quote Amalnerkar 'The Gita says the subject has been discussed in two places '*viz.*, the Veda and the Smriti or by two sorts of persons *viz.*, the Rishis and the Acharyas. On Shankara's interpretation the two sorts of persons would be Rishis and authors of Brahmanas, that is, Rishis and Rishis and the two places would be Vedas and Vedas or Brahmanas and Brahmanas or Upanishads and Upanishads. Is the propriety

* Panini mentions a Bhikshusutra which grammarians have identified with Badarayana's Sutra. These Bhikshusutras were therefore the ancient form or original nucleus of Badarayana's present Sutras.

of classification kept up?" Unfortunately here too Professor Amalnerkar uses an argument which cuts the ground from under his own feet. For if we look at the shloka carefully the shloka does not intend to divide the authors into two classes of persons; on the contrary the authors who preach the क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञज्ञान are identical *viz.*, the Rishis, the places only where it is so preached being different. Let us put the shloka in Anvaya form; ऋषिभिः विविधैः छंदोभिः पृथक् (तथा) हेतुमद्भिः विनिश्चितैः ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव गीतम्. In fact in the second line the word ऋषिभिः like गीतम् has to be repeated. 'Brahmasutrapadaih' is करणे तृतीया and the कर्ता is still the Rishis. The two different places are also well indicated, the first being the different Chhandas which always refer to the Mantra portion of the Veda and the second naturally being the well-reasoned definite words of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads which speak of Brahma. The translation given by Professor MaxMuller has therefore to be corrected as follows, "celebrated in many ways *by* Rishis *in* various Chhandas and *in* (not by) words speaking of Brahma which are definite and furnished with reasons. The word हेतुमद्भिः and विनिश्चितैः can as well apply to the Upanishad sentences like सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म तज्जलान् as to the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana. In fine the interpretation put by Shankara on the shloka and the word ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः is the only proper one, as in the interpretation suggested by Amalnerkar we shall have to divide the persons into the classes ऋषि and आचार्य (who shall have to be brought in from imagination if we render the word ब्रह्मसूत्र by the Sutras of Badarayana) and secondly in the classification of places we shall have to drop the importance of the word छंदोभिः which clearly refers to the Mantras and not to the whole Veda including Brahmanas and the Upanishads. In fact the word छंदोभिः would naturally lead us to expect in the next line the Brahmanas and the Upanishads which are in prose *i.e.*, such portions of them as treat of Brahma in a definite and reasoned manner.

It is really strange that Professor MaxMuller should have been misled by the mention of a name though he himself in this his great work "The Six Systems of Indian philosophy" constantly lays stress on the danger of founding any

theory as to dates on names. Even personal names like Kapila and Vyasa and names of philosophies like Yoga and Sankhya or of works like Kapilasutra or Kanadasutra are no safe guides in this respect. The real and the principal thing is the internal evidence as a whole or as Prof. MaxMuller puts it,the chronology of thought. Of course there are certain names which we are sure indicate only one person or work, and the name of Buddha is at the head of such names. It is a name which none has taken in imitation again and his date as well as his doctrines are like unmistakeable lights in the sea of chronological controversies relating to ancient India. Whether the Gita refers to the Buddhistic doctrines, whether the Gita discloses a condition of thought which is subsequent to Buddhism is really the question at issue. Unfortunately Professor MaxMuller has not expressed his opinion on this point. Justice Telang and Professor Amalnerkar have however done so and their views are diametrically opposed to one another.

Professor Amalnerkar thinks not only that the Gita is influenced by Buddhism but that it embodies a positive reference to it. "Buddhism showed great sympathy towards the masses. The Gita shows tenderness towards Shudras and the Shvapachas the lowest of all classes. Buddhism teaches even-handedness to all creatures; the Gita says even-handedness is Yoga. Ahimsa is a favourite tenet of Buddhism, the Gita inculcates it in several places. Buddhism admitted all castes into its pale, the Gita twice talks of Varnasankara and protests against it"; one can not understand this sentence clearly as the fact is evidently against Professor Amalnerkar. The same may be said of the following sentence "Buddhism protested against sacrifices. The Gita to a certain extent attacks sacrifices yet defends action." Perhaps these two are instances where Gita is not under the influence of Buddhism but is supposed to counteract such influence and is hence later than Buddhism.

"In the 16th chapter the Gita describes the demoniac race. Professor Wilson considers it a description of the Buddhists. Mr. Telang asserts that the description applies to Charvakas. How (asks Professor Amalnerkar) does the description apply to Charvakas?" Here we are face to face with

an important question. Does the description contained in the 16th chapter apply to the Buddhists and Jains? Jains may have been wealthy in the past as many of the Jains are in the present. But one scarcely believes that Jains and Buddhists could have been at any time, they are assuredly not now, of the frame of mind described in the following eloquent lines. "I have killed that enemy; I will kill others also. I am the Lord (of all I survey), I am the enjoyer, I am the enlightened. I am the strong and the happy, I am blessed, I am noble-born. Who else is there who is like me? I will sacrifice and give and enjoy. Thus swayed by ignorance and by many thoughts, they give up themselves to pleasure and fall therefore into the impure hell." The Buddhists certainly were never given up to pleasure nor can they be spoken of as resting on pride, strength, insolence, luxuriousness and anger (अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं च संश्रिताः). It is really inexplicable how Professor Amalnerkar adduces facts which palpably go against him. For our part we think that none will be disposed to urge that the above description applies to Buddhists or was intended to apply to them. In fact we take our stand on this very description as showing that the Gita does not refer to the doctrines of Buddha in the following important shloka which forms the second plank in Professor Amalnerkar's argument and in which he thinks there is a direct reference to the tenets of Buddhism.

असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् ।
अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम् ॥

This shloka is doubtless very illusive and difficult to understand. But it is to be interpreted in the light of what precedes and follows it. These are the beliefs of those whose frame of mind has been described as above, of men who are given up to pride, rapine, pleasure and fighting. It is certainly the frame of mind believed by the Indians from days immemorial as characterising the Asuras. It is this very description which compels us to believe that the tenets summed up in the foregoing shloka are not the tenets of Buddhists.

There is however further reason why we believe that the tenets herein referred to are those of the Charvakas or Barhaspatyas. The history of this sect is very dim and we

have no work or Sutra which sets forth their doctrines. Their doctrines are noticed in brief in the Sarvadarshanasangraha of Madhavacharya who quotes certain shlokas of Brihaspati whose work does not now exist, at least is not yet discovered. Professor MaxMuller gives a very interesting account of this Barhaspatya section in his "Six Systems of Indian philosophy." The following extracts are very important in this connection. "The Brihaspati Sutras now lost are said to have contained the doctrines of the out and out materialists or sensualists, the Lokayatikas or Charvakas who deny the existence of everything beyond what is given by the senses." And again "it seems strange that the name of the preceptor of the gods should have been chosen as the name of the representative of the most unorthodox atheistical and sensualistic system of philosophy in India. We may possibly account for this by referring to the Brahmanas and Upanishads in which Brihaspati is represented as teaching the demons his pernicious doctrines not for their benefit, but for their own destruction. Thus we read, (Maitrayana Upanishad 7, 9.) 'Brihaspati having assumed the shape of Shukra, brought forth that false knowledge for the safety of Indra and the destruction of the Asuras; by it they show that good is evil and evil is good." And again 'These demons believe in a difference of the Atman, and therefore a very different self was taught to them. On that self these deluded demons take their stand." Here we see a connection between Asuras and the philosophy of Brihaspati believed in from the days of the Upanishads. These atheistical doctrines existed from the earliest times as their traces are visible even in the Rigveda in some hymns of which Prof. MaxMuller pointed out the "curious traces of an incipient scepticism." These Barhaspatya docrines were unquestionably therefore pre-Buddhistic and Buddha is himself said in the Lalitavistara to have learnt, among other systems, the Barhaspatya philosophy. Two things are therefore clear that the Barhaspatya tenets also called Charvaka tenets are of a vary old standing and that even in the Upanishads they are said to be doctrines taught by Brihaspati to the Asuras. Thus we see clearly how in the disputed shloka in the Bhagavadgita the

docrines referred to are those of Brihaspati or Charvaka as they are said to belong to men who are born among the Asuras. We have not the slightest doubt that this 16th chapter delineating the Asura character and this particular shloka in it summing up the Asura or Barhaspatya tenets are a reproduction of the belief in Upanishad days of false and materialistic doctrines taught by Brihaspati to the Asuras.

But further than this; if we scan the shloka carefully we shall be able to see that it applies to the Charvakas or Barhaspatyas and not to the Buddhists, even from what insufficient notice we have of the docrines of the former in Madhava's work. Prof. Amalnerkar admits that the word अनीश्वरम् in the first line applies as well to Buddhists as to the Charvakas. The word अपरस्परसंभूतम् interpreted both according to Prof. Amalnerkar and according to Shankaracharya refers to the belief that the elements composing the universe exist independently of one another. Prof. Amalnerkar says this belief was held by the Buddhists. Even if we accept this, we ought to have been further told that the Charvakas did not hold this belief. But as a matter of fact the Charvakas were also undoubtedly of this opinion. If we refer to the Sarvadarshana sangraha we find that the Charvakas believed that there were four elements only the earth, water, fire and air and necessarily they were not developments of one original Akasha as the Vedantis believed. This is a belief also shared in by the Naiyayikas who add the fifth element Akasha which the Charvakas did not believe in as being incapable of perception. Thus two words अनीश्वरम् and अपरस्परसंभूतम् apply to the Buddhists as well as the Charvakas. Now remain the first two असत्यम् and अप्रतिष्ठम् and the last कामहैतुकम् preceded by the significant word किमन्यत्; that is to say this word कामहैतुकम् is a key to the whole shloka. Strangely enough कामहैतुकम् is an epithet which Prof. Amalnerkar has entirely forgotton. By accident or design he does not refer to it at all. Now कामहैतुकम् is an epithet which applies to the Charvakas alone and not to the Buddhists. The Buddhists never believed that the world was for enjoyment or 'born of desire only' while it was the chief plank in the philosophy of the Barhaspatyas. नीतिकामशास्त्रानुसारेणार्थकामावेव पुरुषार्थौ मन्यमानाः remarks Madhava. The Char-

vakas believed in two Purusharthas or objects of human persuit only, wealth and enjoyment. The first word असत्यम् ought therefore to be construed in the light of and in conformity with the last word *viz* कामहैतुकम्. It does not mean unreal for an unreal world can not be called कामहैतुकम् but it means that there is no truth in the world. Shankaracharya explains it by remarking यथा वयमनृतप्रायास्तथा जगत्सर्वमसत्यम्:. Chaturdhara explains the word as follows, नास्तिसत्यं यस्मिन्. We must also remember the last quarter of the preceding shloka न सत्यं तेषु विद्यते. Be that as it may the Bauddhas do not believe that the world is unreal. That is in fact the belief of the Vedantis only. The former believe that the world is momentarily changing. Prof. Amalnerkar guardedly remarks that some of the Bauddhas hold that except the soul all things are real while the nihilists assert the non-existence of every thing. For our part our impression is that the Bauddhas believe that the world is real and momentarily changing while they believe that the soul does not exist at all. In short Prof. Amalnerkar has misconstrued the whole shloka and has thus fallen into an error which the apparently deceptive character of the shloka has undoubtedly rendered possible.

Granting all that Prof. Amalnerkar says for the sake of argument, it is still impossible to assert that in this shloka or in this chapter the Buddhists are referred to. They are not mentioned by name and it is a fact which has been admitted by Prof. MaxMuller also that tenets like those held by the Buddhists were held by different sects previous to them. From the Brahma-Jala-Sutta we learn that a number of philosophical doctrines were in existence at the time of Buddha. A large mass of philosophical thought was in existence from a long time preceding Buddha, before there was any attempt to arrange it into particular systems of philosophy. And even if the present Sutras of the six systems of Indian philosophies were post-Buddhistic " there can be no doubt that not only the general outlines of the Sankhya but all that belongs to Karma and Yoga was known before the rise of Buddhism." In fact Buddhism is popularly credited with many ideas which in reality existed long before it. The Ahinsa doctrine for instance was a part and parcel of Hinduism long before it was taken up by the Jains and the Buddhists. It wsa certainly

fenced in with certain bounds which Jainism alone and not Buddhism overthrew. The Ahinsa doctrine is as old as the Upanishads and was preached by those great Rishis who realised Brahma in everything animate and inanimate, see अहिंसन्सर्वभूतानि अन्यत्रतीर्थेभ्यः Chhandogya Upanishad Prapathaka 8 Khanda 14. If then the Gita preaches Ahinsa following the Upanishads it need not excite our surprise. If the Shudras and the lower castes were treated evenly with the higher clsases, it is a thing recognised by the Upanishads. The Shudras were originally admitted to learn Brahmavidya and the legend of Raikva and Janashruti in the Chhandogya Upanishad stands an ineffacable testimony to the even-handedness of the teachers of the Upanishads. Strangely enough the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana actually discuss the question of the admissibility of the Shudras to Brhamavidya, refer to this very legend in the Chhandogya and decide the point in the negative, interpreting the word Shudra in a most whimsical manner and holding it to mean something else than a Shudra by caste. This is itself an incontrovertible proof to hold that the Sutras were written at a time when the restrictions of caste had tightened very considerably and that the Upanishad doctrine is still maintained in the Bhagavadgita shows that the latter stands in date between the Upanishads and the Brhamasutras. The Bhagavadgita to our mind is pre-eminently pre-Buddhistic from the nature of its thought as a whole and its date therefore can not be later than the 6th century B. C. The reference to द्वन्द्वसमास in Chapter 9 can not make it posterior to Panini for we know that his Sutras must have been preceded by a long study of the subject. Panini did not coin the names of the Samasas which must have been in existence long before him. The point is so clear to every student of the growth of grammar in ancient India that we consider it unnecessary to go into further proof of it.

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N.B.—Names which constantly occur such as Greeks, Brahmins, &c., names of actors in the two epics and unimportant names have been omitted.

COSMO PUBLICATIONS